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Shamgar findings pin blame on GSS, Gillon

THE Shamgar Commission of Inquiry into the Assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday charged that for years the General Security Service has fulled to protect the nation's leaders properly.

In a hard-hitting report, the commission enumerated the security establishment's failures surrounding the assassination, with the GSS and its former chief, Karmi Gillon, receiving the toughest criticism.

The police were also not spared. The 332-page report detailed ineptness by police commanders responsible for Rabin's safety, who gave orders to clear the parking lot where he was murdered, hul failed to make sure they were implemented.

A classified section touched on the relations hetween the Prime Minister's Office, the government authority in charge of the GSS. and the security service.

in this report, reflect conceptual and operational flaws in a wide range of areas, and weakness in the management of the national authorities," former Supreme Court president Meir Shamgar, who headed the commission, and members Zvi Zamir and Ariel Rozen-Zvi, wrote in the conclusion.

"In this respect, the report serves as a warning sign for many different institutions."

The report was made public in the early afternoon, after it had been presented to Prime Minister Shimon Peres and to the six GSS men and one police officer issued warning letters. They were allowed to review the classified sections inside Jerusalem's Beit Shalom, the huilding where the commission held its hearings.

"I think they put their finger on the main points," Peres said after receiving the report. They didn't waste their time on marginal issues. When a tragedy like this occurs, it is impossible not to learn a lesson. The situation cannot remain what it was.

'The fact that a prime minister was murdered Our findings and conclusions, which appear under certain conditions, in a certain situation,

necessitates that lessons be learned. I think that the Shamgar Commission's report provides the government with a direction and with recommendations on how to learn the necessary lessons.

Peres declined to relate to the classified section, except to say: "I think the classified section I read today was also very trustworthy and reasonable. It was to the point, just like the rest of the report."

The commission ended its report with a quote from the Talmud (Berahot): "Rahbi Yohanan said in the name of Rahbi Shimon Bar-Yohai: Bad culture in a man's home is worse than Armageddon," after calling for continued soul-

But the philosophical tone of the conclusion was not characteristic of the report as a whole, which delved deep into the details of the security failures surrounding the November 4 assassina-

It gives a behind-the-scenes look at those

failures, from the lack of coordination between the police and GSS, and poor preparations by both, to a misreading of intelligence information on a Jewish assailant trying to kill the prime

The report emphasizes that "specific failures" at the assassination site were symptomatic of

wider problems plaguing the GSS and police.
It said the GSS bodyguards' failure to protect
Rabin's back from the one angle from which Amir was able to approach and fire "gives the impression that the failure was specific and by chance. But to our sorrow, this is not the case.

The commission found the police and GSS did not study each other's security plans for the night of the event. The police presented their plan to the GSS, but the GSS officers responsihle did not review it. The police never received the GSS security plan.
"The lack of knowledge of one body of the

orders of the other ... played more than a small part in the failures that lead to the led to the

tragedy," the report said.
The reports details how police commanders

called for extra manpower to help clear the Tel Aviv City Hall parking lot near where Rabin was later murdered, but the extra forces were late and, when they finally arrived, failed to do what they were ordered.

Policemen and GSS bodyguards were also not properly briefed about the real threat of attack on the prime minister by a lone Jewish assailant, despite intelligence reports their commanders had received about such a threat.

Instead, as Yigal Amir waited to carry his attack in full view near Rabin's ronte to his car, the GSS and police were more concerned about the threat of attack by Hamas and Islamic Jihad their commanders had hriefed them on.

Building on the specific failures, the commission went on to sharply criticize, even ridicule, both agencies - but the GSS in particular - for their handling of VIP security in general over the past several years.

"The prime minister was not protected as he should have been the night he was murdered, and that failure was the result of a method of (Continued on Page 15)

Commission clears GSS commander, rules 5 others and police officer negligent on night of Rabin murder

ONE of the seven General Security Service and police officers issned warning letters in Decemher by the Shamgar Commission, K., the head of the Non-Arah Affairs Division, was cleared in the final report released yesterday.

The commission found "there were indeed some systematic flaws in the relay of information on a potential attack on the premier by a Jewish extremist] from the GSS to the police.

"However, these flaws are systematic and not personal and therefore the commission found no cause to draw personal conclusions against K.," who was responsible for intelligence information on extremist Jewish groups and individuals.

The commission took the oth-

BILL HUTMAN

er officers to task for security failures on the night of prime minister's Yitzhak Rahin's assassination. The personal conclusions in the report, as defined in an official summary of the report, were as follows:

Regarding former GSS chief Karmi Gillon, "The commission found that starting in 1993 there were increasing reports on plans

to assassinate the prime minister ... However, [Gillon] did not draw the operational conclusions necessitated by this. "Gillon did not conduct even

one substantive, relevant, thorough, and comprehensive discussion with all the security and intelligence-gathering bodies to review methods," in light of intelligence information on threats of attack hy Jewish extremist.

"Gillon should have seen to planning operational and conceptual readiness that would create an appropriate level of preparedness in the VIP Protection Unit," in an effort to foil such an attempted attack.

Despite these serious findings, the commission ruled that no action should he taken against Gillon, as he has already resigned from his post because of the assassination.

Y., head of the GSS Security Division, was also charged with not taking the proper steps in response to the threat of attack on the prime minister by a Jewish assailant.

(Continued on Page 15)



Members of the security forces lead suspects captured in yesterday's raids to a collection point at the Bir Zeit soccer ground.

Hundreds of Palestinians held in huge sweep ed many followers when he was a

THE security forces rounded up 371 Palestinians in villages north of Ramallah yesterday, hauling them blindfolded onto a football field for questioning about suspected

links with Islamie militants. The pre-dawn sweep was the largest since the IDF split its control over most Arah villages in Judea and Samaria with the Palestinian Police. The army said it was aimed at netting suspected terrorists and students from the Gaza Strip, whose presence in the West Bank was declared illegal following the recent suicide

bombings. The arrests nearly doubled the number of Palestinians Israeli forces have taken in since the beginning of the month.

The raids were the last action under the command of of Maj.-Gen. Ilan Biran, who is ending his two-year stint as OC Central Command and retiring from military service.

The war against terror is not measured in quantity, hut the quality of intelligence and getting the perpetrator, capturing him, and interrogating him," Biran

told reporters. Under cover of darkness, security forces, including paratroopers, undercover units, and policemen, swept through the town of Bir Zeit and the villages of Abu Kash and Shakheida, banging on doors and hanling suspects ont-side. They were taken to large compounds exected on the football field in Bir Zeit.

Lt.-Col, Yitzhak, head of the Central Command military police, told Army Radio there is

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"no doubt the scope of today's raids is not the norm these days,"

he said. The main goal of the operation was to round up Gazans studying in colleges in the Ramaliah area in defiance of Biran's order to return home. Biran targeted the Gazans, since most of the Hamas activists linked to the bombers were students from Gaza, many of whom attend Bir Zeit

University.

The university has been a font of Hamas activism and Yihye Ayyash, "the Engineer," recruitsuper charter Galilee Tours

GRAY LINE

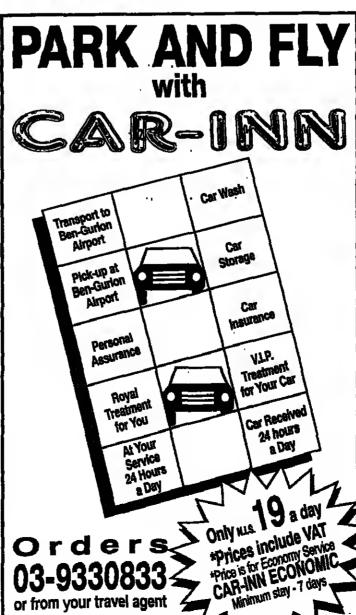
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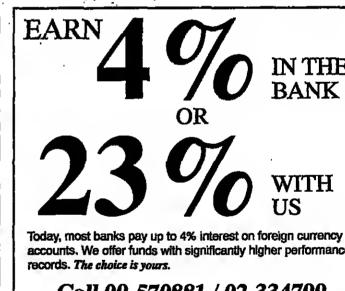
'The connection between Gaza and Judea and Samaria is one of terror and incitement," said Deputy Defense Minister Ori Orr.

"They presumed they lived in a secure area and that no one would enter it." Orr said, accusing them of "taking advantage of the academic freedom." "Anyone from Gaza will be returned to Gaza, and anyone who is invocent will be released," Orr said. (Continued on Page 15)

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THE Shamgar Commission Report categorically rejected the "conspiracy theories" surrounding the assassioation of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, saying it looked into many of them and

found them baseless. The report's discussion of General Security Service informer Avishai Raviv, a central figure in many of those theories, is classified, which is likely to keep many theorists guessing.

The published report only dealt indirectly and briefly with the use of informers by the GSS, in the final section outlining recommendations for improving the operations of the service. The recommendations appeared to reflect directly on the Raviv case.

informer must keep light control of him, oot to allow him to initiate actions at his will ... and to prevent the carrying out of provocations, that io the end may have a boomerang effect," the report stated.

Many of the theories alleged that Raviv, who headed the Kach splinter group Eyal, goaded Amir ioto assassioatiog Rabin. Amir himself has denied this, and the GSS bas downplayed Raviv's importance as an informer.

After the murder rumors spread in the public that connected the planning of the murder ... to governmental bodies, including the General Security Service, or groups within it," the report

sent the commission letters claiming Amir bad not acted alone.

The commission checked the allegations that there was a conspiracy, and witnesses were inviled to testify in connection with those allegations ... But from the testimony brought before the commission, no basis was found for the allegations there was a

The report also looked into the issue of a reserve soldier, Shlomi Levy, who allegedly overheard a person who fit Amir's description speak of plans to murder Rabin, and informed police. The commission found there is no way of knowing whether proper followup of Levy's lead by police and the GSS would have prevented

Schwartz coofessed as part of a plea-bargain agreement. He said he agreed to the Amir brothers'

Orr: GSS is properly supervised

ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

DEPUTY Defense Minister Ori Orr does not believe the government's supervision of the General Security Service needs to be revised, despite the highly critical Sbamgar Commission report.

Orr said the current supervision of the GSS by the prime minister, as well as the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, is adequate and that no one could have foreseen that a Jew would have murdered the prime minister. "We supervise the GSS very

of the prime minister failed. Today, everyone is wiser in retrospect, but it is not a problem of supervision. We don't need to make changes. Orr added that the only modification that needs to he made is how the enemy looks. Everyone is acting smart now, but nobody

well." Orr said. "The protection

Sarid applauds findings of Shamgar Report

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid, a member of the ministerial committee for secret services, vesterday called the Shamgar Report on Yitzhak Rabin's assassination "deep, responsible, and balanced."

"It sheds light on on the tragic assassination. I'm convinced that by fully adopting the recommendations of the report the General Security Service will be able to prevent future political assassina-tions in Israel," he said, adding that he has complete faith in the

Sarid also said he could not dismiss the possibility that "another Yigal Amir is waiting somewhere. but dismissed former GSS head Karmi Gillon's claim that there are many potential assassins. He praised Gilloo for accepting responsibility and resigning before the commission called for his resignation.

Justice Minister David Lība'i, who is also a member of the secret services committee, said, "The GSS failed in its task of ensuring the safety of the prime minister. The commission deterLIAT COLLINS

mined that the failing was not limited to the even itself, but stemmed from the fact that its approach towards protecting the premier was untenable."

Liba't said the commission had ool made any ruling on whether Gillon could serve in a similar position in the future and ooted the responsibility is oot personal, but rests upon the whole system Meretz Mk Ran Cohen, who chairs the Knessel subcommittee

which oversees secret security forces, said the subcommittee will be convened next week to review the report. Cohen called the report "serious and important" and said he

sees no reason for criticizing it at this point. Asked about the expressions of

relief and joy among the police top brass, Cohen said, "Nobody came out of this tragic event unscathed. There were failings by the GSS, and it accepted responsibility, but the police don't come out of it entirely clean."

Coheo said the failings could be found oot only with the GSS, but "with Israeli society and particularly the extreme right wing. All blame for the terrible deed lies with the perpetrators, but the security failing lies with the GS3."

Nonetheless, Cohen also praised the GSS. The lives of each and everyooe of us, every day and every hour, are in their hands and they do their work' faithfully," he said.

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oumber 137934 NIS 1,000,000 The bolder of ticket number 182283 woo a car.

Tickets numbered 565542, 203898, 611303, 043070, 634046, 173634, 350333 and 827710 won NIS 5,000. Those tickets ending in 69053, 21573, 38153, 58103, 49693, 23334, 28929, 39934, 26806, 07053, 71860, 11517, 00007, 12778, 23650 98078, 20260, 65276 and 21235 woo, NIS 1,000. Tickets ending in 172, 117, 516, 863, and 497 woo. NIS 100, Tickets ending in 88, 14, 53, 41 and 08 won NIS 24.. Tickets ending in 4 and 5 won

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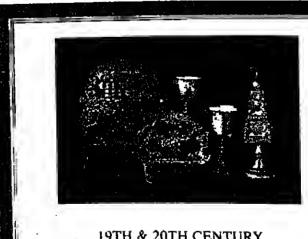
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"The body that operates an stated, noting that many citizens Soldier: Amir kept asking for explosives

"YIGAI Amir's repeated requests to pul logether some explosives for his brother Haggai to try oul made me stop and think," SI.-Sgt. Arye Schwartz told his court martial yesterday.

Schwartz, convicted last month of stealing weap-

Yitzhak Rabin, was appearing for his sentencing

hearing in the Northern District Military Court.

request to supply "amateur sapper" Haggai Amir with explosives with which to "experiment." (him)

thought then that a Jew would kill

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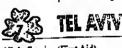
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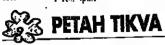


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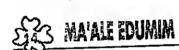
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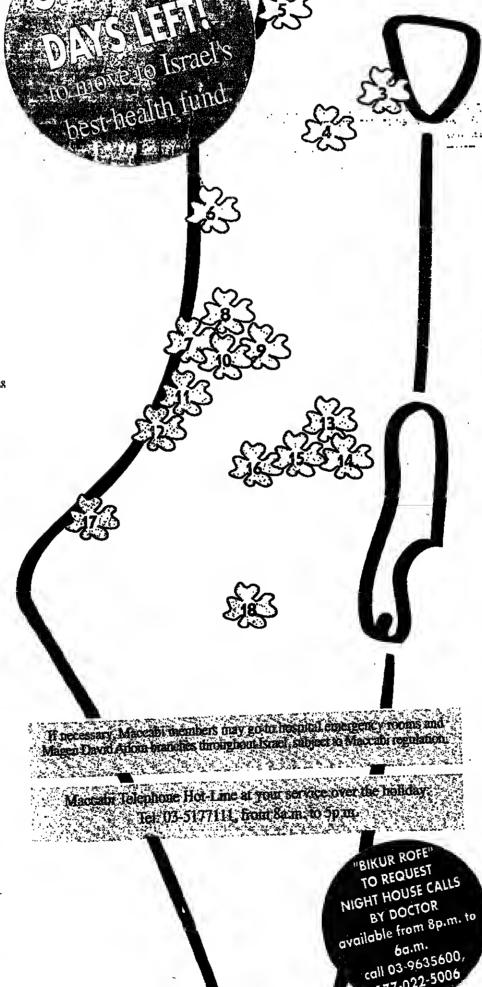
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Sheves takes over as director of Labor information campaign

MICHAL YUDELMAN

SHIMON SHEVES, a former elose aide to prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday took over as director of Labor's election information campaign, which kicks off officially on Sunday.

The appnintment, initiated hy information campaign chairman Haim Ramon, was approved by Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

activity will increase today, with demonstrations of Labor youth in support of Peres at some 70 road jnnetions_throughout the country, and with a rally of People for Peres in Tel Aviv.

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AL WHERE

Labor's main campaign slogan, "A strong Israel with Peres," is expected to appear in newspaper ads next week, but the real campaign activities are due to begin only after Pessah, party secretary-general Nissim Zvilli said, noting that "people don't like aggressive campaign

activity on bolidays."

Zvilli said he will try to persuade Labor and Social Affairs Minister Ora Namir, who resigned from her campaign post as head of the pensioners' sector, to change her mind. Namir, who quit following her election to the relatively low 13th place in Labor's primaries, is on a two-week vacation.

Industry and Trade Minister Mieha Harish, wbo was named director of election day operations, is also having doubts whether to continue his campaign activity after his failure to gain a realistic slot on the Knesset list.

Harish is to meet Peres and campaign chairman Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, who will try to per-suade him to stay in the cam-

Party leaders are also considering ways of compensating Deputy Foreign Minister Eli Dayan for being pushed off the Knesset list, by offering to back. him for secretary-general or.s. giving him a diplomatic posting after the elections.

Gillon: I am not upset with the commission

Former GSS head Karmi Gillon gave the following response to the Shamgar findings:

"AT the time, I was one of a small number of people who initiated the establishment of a judicial commission of inquiry. I viewed the very aet of its establishment as having great importance for the public after the heavy mourning that descended upon the nation. "We io the Geoeral Security

Service took immediate action. We eame to conelusions and learned organizational, professional, and personal lessons on the basis of the internal committee of inquiry that we established oo November 5, and whose conclusions were presented to the prime minister and brought to the public within a few days of the assassi-

"The bead of the Protection Department and I submitted our resignations three days after the murder and before the commission of ioquiry was established, in accordance with the personal aod organizational standards we learned at bome and in the service, and our understanding of the concept of accountability.

"My resignation was not accepted then because of the national need - in [Prime Minister Shimon] Peres's words, to restore the GSS to its full might. I am gratified that the commission dismissed out of hand the idea of a conspiracy in the GSS, gratified that the iotelligeoce sector, for which I am also responsible, was found in order, and gratified that I have already implemented many of the commissioo's conclusions regarding the protection of VIPs...

"My subordinates, who stood at my side before the commission, are among the best of those who speot their days and nights in the line of duty with limitless devotion. In my opinion, the commission is too hard on them, and I disagree with some of the cooclusions it reached.

"However, I am not upset with the commission. I am upset over



Former General Security Service head Karmi Gillon speaks to the press after the Shamgar Commission released its report yes-

the murder of Yitzhak Rahin - a leader, a commander, and a humaoe man who gave me his full confideoce. The sense of his loss is with me at all times, day and night, and that is what brought me to the decisioo to resign immediately after his murder. The only thing that eonsoles me is the knowledge that I bave left bebind a security service able to fulfill the beavy security missions imposed upon it by the state ... and that I have handed over the command in an orderly and dignified way to as outstanding a commander and figbter as Ami Ayalon...

There are other Jews like Yigal Amir - albeit not many - serving with us io the Golani Brigade or the Paratroopers or the Armored Corps, studying with us at univer-sity, standing beside us in line at the movies, and shopping with us in the same supermarket, who are ready to kill a prime minister and political leaders in Israel. And I say this not as an angry prophet but as a rational persoo who has seen these things in the past and sees things the way they are in the

"These same intelligeoce and protection people who are being judged ioday, whom we all want to scrupulously obey the law and democratie hehavior in our country, are the same ones who are responsible for the fact that the prime minister is not assassinated and that buses doo't blow up in our cities. Be careful with their bonor and look after them, for there are nooe better than they who are willing to assume this heavy responsibility." (Itim)

Amir to be kept in Beersheba Prison

be transferred from Hasharon Prison to his former cell at Beersheba Prison.

He was transferred to Hasharon during his trial to enable easy access for court-appointed psychiatrists to examine him. Hasharon is also be given the minimum facilities required by much nearer to Tel Aviv, where the trial was

CONVICTED assassin Yigal Amir will soon held, and facilitated his heavily guarded transportation to and from court.

Amir will be beld in solitary confinement in a cell equipped with closed-circuit TV cameras, which will follow his every move. He will Raine Marcus

Shamgar Commission absolves police

THE Shamgar Commission findings prove the police were not responsible for any security foul-up and that they fulfilled their duties, said senior officers yester-

The commission recommended that Hayarkon police ehief Dep-Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval be officially reprimanded by Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz and the rep-

rimand listed in his personal file. The Kikar Malchei Yisrael area, where Rahin was murdered, was under Shovat's direct jurisdiction and he was the only police officer sent a letter of warning by the

Following yesterday's recom-mendation, Shoval's mobite phone did not stop ringing, as colleagues nationwide phoned to express solidarity after months of

"li's impossible to say that I'm completely bappy, considering the tragic event that occurred that night," said Sboval. "I was only half a meter away at the time [of the assassinatioo]. I had hoped to be vindicated completely in light

of what I know to be true, and my actions.'

But be added he felt relief, after a difficult few months. "At times l felt I was representing the police force as a whole body," he said.

Shoval also said that officers from the Hayarkon sub-district and the Tel Aviv force supported him fully, especially wheo be was absent for around two months when testifying before the com-

His lawyer, Amnon Ziehroni, accused "certain parties of opening fire at the police to absolve themselves of responsibility. I am happy with the findings, which just prove that the police fulfilled their duties and were not sold to evacuate the area around the parking lot, nor to 'sterilize' the area,"

"The police points of view were accepted by the commission. In such eveots the police are only an assisting force, and the main responsibility is on the GSS." Another police officer said that

the term "sterile area" was invented by the GSS after the assassination. Shoval's reprimand, he added, would not hamper his

chances of promotioo. Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said the police would adopt the commission's findings and recommendations. "I have appointed a professional team to examine the findings and which will recommend to me, within the next few days, ways to implement them," said Hefetz. "The commission treated the police fairly. Although it did not totally exonerate us of all responsibility, it gave the correct weight to the role and responsibility of the police. We must not forget this tragic event to implement lessons learned, some of which we are putting into effect now, together with the GSS."

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahat said that he knows Shoval to be a talented and experienced officer and "personally felt bis pain." "We must examine the report thoroughly, including the elassified parts, before drawing any final conclusions," he said.

Norway may grant PA emergency funds in response to closure

NORWAY intends to provide "tens of millions" of dollars in emergeocy assistance to the Palestinians to alleviate economie losses incurred from the elosure of the territories, a Clinton admin-

istratioo official said yesterday. The Norwegians "bave beeo particularly active io recent weeks" io examining ways to provide assistance, the official said. The aid would represent "unilateral Norwegian efforts" to address the problem, rather than an additional international apparatus to aid the Palestinians, he added.

The US does not intend to add to its 1993 five-year, \$500 million pledge to the Palestinians, be said. Oslo's move is meant only as a sbort-term fix for elosure-related losses, because "wbat the

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HILLEL KUTTLER WASHINGTON

Norwegians don't want is to bave current developmental funds tapped once more," he said.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat reportedly stated earlier this week that a \$1 billion infusion would he necessary, but the US official dismissed that figure as unrealistic.

Meanwhile, security experts and ambassadors from 28 eountries were to ecovene at the State Department last night for the start of a two-day session on counterterrorism that is a follow-up to the March 13 Sharm e-Sheikh confer-

Regional participants include Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Israel,

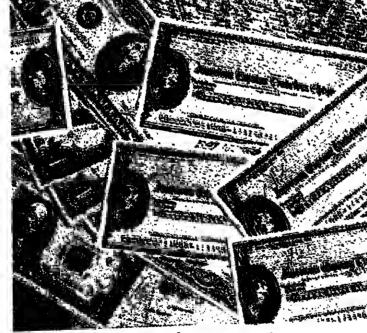
Jordan, Kuwait, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, the PA, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and

Israel's delegation is beaded by Foreign Ministry Deputy Director-Geoeral Yigal Pressler.

Although a general statement may be issued after the working groups' meeting today, no formal communique will be issued, Israeli and US officials said.

"We are not hyping this meeting as producing a declaration, a statement," the US official said. "Rather, it's to produce ... specific kernels of concrete counter-terrorism areas ... which would be referred to capitals and then to the ministerial meeting, [to be] held, probably, next month.

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HE Oslo process has shal-tered traditional demarca-

White outright left-wingers are

casting doubts on the Oslo accords, louder voices on the right

Candidate number 13 on

Meretz's list in the last elections

now talks about the "Oslo illu-

sion" and wrote this week: "It is

now clear that the whole security

side of this approach [relying on

the Palestinians in the war against

terrorism] has been refuted. The

areas handed over to the PLO

have become a greenhouse for

nurturing Hamas and other organi-

zations: they have turned into a

refuge for murderers and thieves,

Meanwhile, our hands are fied.

and we cannot do the jub our-

At the same time, candidate

number 13 in the Likud primaries

is stating that his party should

accept the Oslo agreement as a

This polarization and lack of

congruity with party lines are the

consequence of the twilight in

which the Oslo agreement is

wrapped. It has been identified,

wrongly, as a peace process, when

in fact it is only a temporary

arrangement which doesn't even

There is now a consensus across

the political spectrum that the IDF

should not be sent back to Gaza;

just as in 1967 there was virtual agreement that the Gaza Strip

should be annexed (it even fea-tured in Mapam's peace plan.)

Israel could have pulled out of

Gaza even without the Oslo agree-

ment. Prior to the 1992 elections,

defense minister Moshe Arens

proposed a unilateral withdrawal

from Gaza, even without an agree-

But our negotiators at Oslo

weren't just thinking of Gaza.

They bad another objective: the

On this question, Prof. Yehoshua

ment with the Palestinians.

end of Palestinian terrorism.

guarantee a complete cease-fire.

given, and come to terms with it.

selves.

are calling for its acceptance.

tion lines in Israeli politics.

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The Shamgar Report

THE Shamgar Commission's decision not to recommend criminal prosecution of security officials in the Rabin assassination case is probably justified. After a painstaking investigation, it could not point to anyone who might be guilty of criminal negligeoce. The fault, it found, was in the general attitude of those responsible for security. They possessed enough information to warrant taking greater precautions, but did virtually nothing.

Perhaps the most illuminating statement in the report is the commission's rejection of the General Security Service's claim that it was impossible to give political figures better protection, because they like to mingle. "It was not the politicians' need to have direct contact with the public that rendered an improved system [of protection] impossible, but the routinized thinking babits [at the GSS]," the commission as-

That is wby the commission felt the forced resignation of GSS head Karmi Gillon, who was not even in the country at the time of the assassination, was justified. True, the tragedy could have been avoided with a little luck. As one observer put it soon after the assassination, bad one of Rabin's bodyguards turned to the left rather than the right a second before murderer Yigal Amir raised his gun. the only casualty would have probably been Amir. But the sbockingly negligent, sloppy procedures that made the murder possible were a result of an insouciance which only instruction and inspiratioo from the top could have altered. That these were absent must be hlamed on the chief himself.

lt may be understandable, too, that the commission's findings on the involvement of agent provocateur Avishai Raviv with the murderer were confined to the secret part of the report. The commission obviously did not wish to compromise GSS undercover techniques. But while it dismissed out of hand all speculations of a conspiracy involving the GSS, it did refer to "the activation of agents and the need to keep tight control over problematic agents and prevent the commission of crimes or provocations by them.

What the investigation seemed unable to do at least in the published part of the report - was to determine who called out "blanks, blanks" during the shooting. The identity of the caller is still an intriguing mystery. Nor has it been able to reveal why Leah Rabin was told by a GSS agent immediately after the shooting that there was nothing to worry about, because the shooting she bad beard was of harmless blank bullets.

Inexorably, the report's release opened old wounds. Some of the rhetoric immediately following the assassination, which blamed "rightwing extremists" for the killing and concomitantly defined all opponents of Rabin's policies as "extremists," came to life again yesterday. It must be hoped that Prime Minister Shimon Peres, who wisely and responsibly exerted a healing influence after the assassination, will nip this rhetoric in the bud. If there are numerous potential political assassins in the population, as Gillon warned vesterday, the government must do everything it can to keep internal tensions under control.

Mad cows and Euro-men

THE past week has seen an outbreak of hysteria across the entire European Union that is scarcely credible and that ooce again raises disturbing questions about the quality of information provided to national leaders and the public hy the modern cotertainmentdriven media.

The issue of BSE in cattle - mad cow disease " is undoubtedly one that requires, and is getting, the best attention of scrious scientific brains. But the leap in a matter of days from a scientific conclusion that BSE may have been transmitted to 10 humans, to a worldwide ban on British beef and calls for the destruction of

the country's cattle herds, defies logic. While the management of the developing crisis hy Prime Minister John Major's government has oot been the most competent, the panic-stricken reaction of the European hureaucrats has been miod-boggling, with more than a hint of cheap politics driving out reason. Major's government is to be commended for standing firm so far agaiost an even greater media hysleria that called for the immediate slaughter of all 11 million cattle - an act that would have plunged the country into economic disaster.

EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler admitted to the European Parliament that there is no proof of a direct link hetween BSE and the similarly rare Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD) in humans. Bul his statement that the EU was forced to act "by the fact that there is oo proof that there is no link" marks a new low in the already ridiculed world of "Euro-speak."

There is no proof that there is no link between many things in the created biological world, but such a piece of bureaucratic nonsense must be one of the flimsiest reasons ever given for a step of such enormous potential consequences to the liveliboods of hundreds of thousands of Britons. One rnight ask wby the European Commission does not ban cars immediately because of their link to road accidents or sex because of AIDS. Less flippantly, one might ask why it bas not banned tobacco, given the truly enormous body of evidence linking it to bundreds of thousands of deaths across the continent.

The Euro-politicians have been quick to cite "the need to restore public confidence" as the excuse for their basty actions, with scarcely a glance at their own role in destroying public confidence in the first place. The use of powerful worldwide sanctions against a nation and industry on the basis of one piece of inconclusive scientific evidence is a startling new development. Every day, the world's media pick up snippets of scientific research which suggest links betweeo some substance and cancer or heart disease or the extinction of the dinosaurs. This is the first time that such a report has driven the political herd into a panic-stricken

Of course public health is a major concern of any government. But, by contrast with the blind panic of the Eurocrats, the British nalional farmers union made an eminently sensible suggestion - that older cattle which may have been exposed to BSE-contaminated fodder should be removed from the food chain. Those thousands of older beasts routinely slaughtered every week would simply not be passed on lo the food-processing iodustry.

As scientific research progressed and came up with clearer answers, further measures would be implemented to keep in step - as is done in all other cases of suspect contamination. So far, the number of cases of CJD in Britain has been so tiny as to be statistically insignificant in scientific terms. More reasonable American experts report that prominent investigators in the field not only recognize a genetic factor in up to 15 percent of cases of CJD, but they even helieve it occurs spootaneously.

However, the damage is probably done to Britain's meat industry and the day will surely come when the European knee-jerkers will bave to admit their responsibility for it and the ensuing cost. They might also like to explain how the European Union consistently manages to do so little good when much is required (as in Bosnia), and so much damage when a little common sense is called for. As one British politician remarked - it's not the cows that are

POSTSCRIPT |

Sir. - Rabbi Howard Kandell's lener of February 29 explained a socalled issur (prohibition) proclaimed by Orthodox rabbis in New York against participating in public appearances of Minister without Portfotio Rabbi Yehuda Amital.

The rabbi claimed that this issur was not meant personally against Rabbi Amital, but rather in response to his being a "court rabbi," implying that he is "allowing himself to be used hy Shimon Peres in his plan to dismember the State of Israel..."

In the first place, nobody pays attention to such issuring. There is no one in America with the right to place a ban on the individual behavior of Jews. Perbaps a chief rabbi would have that authority, but we do not have a chief rabbi in America, and any chief bbi who promulgated issurim wou. I quickly lose credibility in a country where freedom of thought and action are taken

Secondly, Rabbi Amital is not being "used" by anybody. He was invited by Prime Minister Peres to fulfill a role described by Mr. Peres

RABBI AMITAL'S ROLE

as follows: "To bring Judaism to the government and convey the legitimacy of the government to the

Rabbi Amital is serving as a personal bridge between government and religion. His presence in the cabinet no doubt affects the tone and content of speech at cahinet meetings. He has appeared publicly with Shulamit Aloni, who we are sure has developed a new respect for Torah and Judaism because of ber exposure to a loving, saintly, tolerant and passionately Zionist religinus leader. At the same time, be is conveying to the religious community the message that the current Labor gov-

Sir, - Bravo for Esther Wachsman's "A process that mocks justice (March 15). Mrs. Wachsman is a herome because of tragic circumstances. In addition, she is an

emment is not a demonized force savaging the Land and the People of Israel, hut rather a freely elected government that is trying to ensure the survival of the Jewish people in

One does not have to agree with the policies of Prime Minister Peres in order to respect his seriousness of purpose and the sincerity of his belief in the Land and People of Israel. Rahhi Amital is helping to spread underslanding hetween the two sides who are legitimately divided on the issue of the peace process, but who must work together if the State of Israel is to survive and flourish.

RABBI HASKEL LOOKSTEIN

SPEAKING TRUTH

intelligent, articulate woman who expresses well the present state of affairs we find ourselves in. Since she and her husband did "give peace a chance," her credibility and insight should be respected even by ardent Oslo supporters.

JANICE WEINREB

MOSHE ZAK

The confusion of left and right

over the Oslo accord only

Guilty!

Porat, noted for his research on the Palestinian nationalist movement, wrole this week. "The signatories to the Oslo agreement did not pay attention to the basics. In the document brought home from Oslo they did not demand that the Palestinians cease the armed struggle, only that they should

condemn terrorism. "Anyone familiar with the style

highlights its contradictions of Arab rhetoric knows that the round in the search for a way to Arabs do not consider they are

carrying our terrorist attacks, but

actions in a legitimate armed struggle." The repeal of clauses in the Palestinian Covenant calling for the elimination of Israel wasn't included in the original Oslo agreement either. Only after a lastminune PLO demand for recognition as the representative of the Palestinian people did Israel add its requirement on changing the covenant.

The PLO, in no hurry to upbold this undertaking, has now made its fulfiliment conditional on our ending the closure of the territories and evacuating Hebron.

WHEN THE Americans sought the repeal of the 1975 UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, they knew bow to go about it, simply and assertively. They won a decisive majority in the UN for a proposed resolution explicitly annulling the anti-

Israel hasn't been sufficiently

reach a settlement with the

trying to pull a fast one hy propos-

ing a new covenant, without any

anti-Israel clauses. But it will keep

the old covenant in its bottom

drawer, ready to use when needed.

The Oslo process is not a fin-

ished product. The agreements

signed with the PLO may be seen

as a package of confusions, con-

tradictions, blind alleys, and equivocations, all going round and

The pushing for separation and the imposition of the closure on the territories do not jibe with the declarations of economic cooperation made at Oslo,

It is true that Israel's security requirements are what made the closure necessary, hut the Oslo agreement was supposed to provide a solution to security problems. It hasn't lived up to expecta-

The "Oslo spirit" gave birth to Israel's campaign to raise financial support for the Palestinian Authority, on the assumption that famine in Gaza spawns suicide bombers. But this claim has boomeranged

back on us. The Arabs are now claiming that the closure has caused millions of dollars in damage to the residents of the territories; they are therefore demanding that Israel end the closure at once so the Palestinians can come and work bere.

In the Oslo agreement, Israel alert to Palestinian maneuvering on the covenant issue. The PLO is

A shattering of party lines territories with a living, but it did, in the Paris agreement, commit itself to providing work for the Palestinians.

Following the Six Day War. government "doves" opposed employing workers from the territories in Israel, but the "hawks" pressed for it so as to bring about the economic integration of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza with Israel.

Now the shoe is on the other foot: The doves are calling for employing workers from the territories instead of foreign workers, while the hawks support the continuation of the closure.

This reversal is just another example of the new chaos in our political system.

More: Those who spoke loudest against Israeli investment across the Green Line are now urging the government to invest beyond it for Palestinian benefit. And those who claimed the settlements stole resources from our development towns and poor neighborhoods are now willing to transfer resources to the Palestinians, who cannot work in Israel.

All this is being voiced with the rationale that Israel exploited the Palestinians during the occupation - totally ignoring the fact that the annual per-capita income of the Palestinians in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza is 40 percent higher than that of their brethren across the border in Jordan and Egypt.

Our problems with our neighbors are 100 complex for instant Oslo-type solutions. Such problems cannot be solved at the stroke of a pen.

At Oslo, a limited time-span was allowed for solving an age-old

A genuine peace process requires cautious steps forward, a great deal more patience, and no panic over the possibility of a renewed intifada.

The writer, a veteran journalist, comments on current affairs.

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A little from here, a bit from there

The opposition can take either of two positions. It can say that the Oslo agreement and its implementation is a single package, and the lerror proves that this package was a mistake from the start.

Or it can argue that the terror proves major changes in the implementation of Oslo are necessary, that those changes can be made without giving up on Oslo, and that it remains to be seen whether Oslo can be made to

work. The core of Oslo, Yitzhak Rabin's legacy, has two components: a relationship between the government of Israel and representatives of the Palestinians, and transfer to Palestinian Authority control of the area densely populated by Palestinians.

No matter what else in the Oslo process is changed, if these two components remain, it is still Rahin's Oslo strategy.

Two underlying approaches were available for implementing the basic Oslo strategy. Shimon Peres chose to use the "new Middle Easi" approach, which says that because of changes in the world, especially the Middle East, the way to protect Israel's security is to satisfy the reasonable needs of the Palestinians and bein Yasser Arafat strengthen the PA so that he and it can cooperate with Israel and control any residual terror

The alternative is to see relations between the Palestinians and Israel after the Oslo peace as being like other relations in the Middle East. Every Arab ruler knows that although other Arab rulers embrace him when they meet, they may attack him or his country by military force or assassination at any time.

In the Middle East security comes not from peace alone, but from physical measures of selfprotection, balance of power and interest, and from deterrence. Governments only do what they MAX SINGER

have agreed to do when they are forced to.

Instead of condemning the whole Oslo process, Binyamin Netanyahu could focus on the need to go forward by implementing Oslo differently, challenging Peres, but not Rabin.

The alternative to Peres could be a "real Middle East" approach rather than a rejection of Oslo.

consistent with Rabin's argument that Oslo preserved Israel's options. Eventually, if nothing else works, Israel will have to give up the Oslo experiment and resume its control of the Arab cities, or any of them which con-

tinue to support terrorists.

This would not be the goal; it

would be the last resort - and the Palestinians' greatest incentive lo

solve the problem before it

A "real Middle East" approach

would have to make clear that

Oslo's reference to the "mutual

rights" of Israel and of the

Palestinians means that both Israel

and the Palestinians have rights.

not that they have the same or

Palestinians' rights are hased on

the fact that many of them have

been living on a portion of the

land for a number of generations.

although no Palestinian or local

Israel's rights have multiple

becomes necessary.

equal rights.

How about replacing Peres's New Middle East with a 'Real Middle East' approach?

The opposition could promise that although it disagreed with Oslo when the agreement was made, since it is now a reality with widespread support, in the interest of unity it will work to try to make the essential core of Oslo succeed.

Since the Palestinians have not complied with the terms of Oslo, Israel isn't required to continue along the implementation path Peres has taken; it has no obligation to refrain from the measures it needs to protect itself.

Using this approach, Netanyahu would add increasingly forceful measures of attacking terrorist organizations. While the war against terror would not ask Palestinian permission, it would start by trying to do the job with minimal interference Palestinian life. But additional measures would be added as necessary, despite the disruption of Palestinian life, until the terrorists are defeated.

Success would come from a combination of laraeli measures and actions that Palestinians take, as more and more of them reluctantly become convinced that the only way they can protect themselves is by controlling terrorists. Using standard security tech-

niques for fighting terrorists is

Arab group was ever sovereign in

sources, including the League of Nations mandate, international law. Israel'a descent from the Jewish states that were sovereign for more than 1.000 years, and Israeli settlement on previously unused land. The assertion by the government

of Israel of claims of right in what remains of Mandatory Palestine is part of the heart of a realistic approach to implementing Oslo. If Israel gave up Nablus and Ramallah like a thief returning stolen property, it would be hard to convince Palestinians that Israel might take them back. Fear of losing the areas they have been given

is the ultimate motivation for Palestinians to make the peace work. While this does not require Israel to make specific threats, it does require that Israel shows it believes in its legal and moral claims to the land.

If Netanyahu takes a realistic approach to implementing Oslo. those Israelis who didn't think it could work could take the limited risk of joining Oslo's supporters in an attempt to make Rabin's experiment succeed.

If the attempt works, the former will turn out to have been wrong: if it doesn't work, the latter will be the ones who have to sav "You were right; now we'll have to try your way again." But in either case Israel will be

preserving the unity of policy it needs to protect the country, although there will be hitter arguments about whether the high cost in lives was necessary. This approach will bring togeth-

er the great majority of Israelis. leaving out only thuse who believe in a new Middle East and those who believe that the unity of Jewish land is more important than the unity of the Jewish people and the security of the Jewish

It also has the advantage of preserving the great diplomatic benefits Oslo brought to Israel. At the core of Oslo was some-

thing of great value that produced important benefits for Israel at very high cost.

To bring Israelis together, Oslo should be neither rejected out of hand nor stubbornly implemented with discredited approaches.

The unity israel needs depends

on Israelis learning that the best answer often takes something from both sides.

The writer, former managing director of the World Institute in Jerusalem, is author of The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/Zones of Turmoil.



The Tathasalam &

اكنامن الدُعل

Headed for trouble

ith this week's pri-maries behind us, Israel's political system, despite appearances to the contrary, is not headed toward America. Instead, we may very well be beaded toward very serious trouble. And we may get there without really knowing what's in store for us.

The danger comes from the combination of the system of primaries and the direct election of the prime minister, due to go into effect in the coming general elec-

Direct election carries with it the risk of stalemate, the chance that the prime minister-elect will not be able to put together a majority coalition. Primary elections increase the risk, because they weaken the control of the party leader in his own party.

Avraham Brichta, chairman of the Political Science Department of Haifa University, in an article in Ha'aret: (November 22, 1995) that should he required reading for everyooe in Israel who takes politics seriously, called attention to provisions in the still-untested law for the direct election of the prime minister that have apparently escaped notice.

According to Section 14 of the Basic Law: The Government, the prime minister-elect must appear before the Knesset, with his gov-ernment, within 45 days of the publication of the election results. Section 15(a) states that if within those 45 days . 1e government is not presented to the Knesset, special elections will he held. These special elections are only of the prime minister, not of the Knesset.

That's not the end of it. If the prime minister is reelected, but again fails to put together a coalition within 45 days, then again there are elections for prime minister. But after two tries, he is finished. Section 15(b) provides that he can't be a candidate for prime

HERE IS a test case: Binyamin Netanyahu is elected prime minister. David Levy demands the moon. If he doesn't get it, he will take a walk with his seven MKs, democratically elected in the

ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

Gesher primaries. Without Levy, Netanyahu has no Knessei major-

Suppose Netanyahu says no. Then there are new elections, but only for prime minister. Levy and his seven MKs just

Pure fantasy? Perhaps. But the really dangerous fantasy is the notion that the directly elected prime minister holds a whip over he Knesset, including the MKs

his way, he can force elections for a new Knesset. This simply is not true. It is not true immediately after the elections, as we have seen. Indeed, Knesset dissidents have the whip-hand, if they are needed to

of his own party: If he doesn't get

Primaries mixed with direct election of the premier makes a dangerous brew

form a majority.

Later on, once the Knesset has voted confidence in the government, it is only half true. After that, the prime minister can dissolve an oppositionist Knesset, but, as Brichta points out, according to Section 22 of the Basic Law: The Government, he can do it on: with the agreement of the preside

The draftin of this provision recalls those halcyon days when the president was still a titular head of state, on the model of the British monarch. What could be more in the parliamentary tradition? The prime minister asks the head of state for a dissolution of the nation's parliament.

But that titular president isn't around any more. Instead, we have Ezer Weizman. He just might bave his own ideas on the subject - for example, that a national unity government is preferable.

Just as we don't have a titular head of state any more, neither do we have disciplined parties.

That's where the adoption of the system of primaries comes in. In tomorrow's Knesset, every member is, to no small degree, in husiness for bimself. Criticism of primaries has concentrated on faults within the system itself. The problem of financing urgently needs attention, for example.

The system does not exclude the possibility of manipulation of various sorts, generally lumped together under the rubric of deals. However, little attention has been accorded the integration of the system as such, with or without its imperfections, in the political culture of Israel.

If all goes well, and there is no stalemate between the prime minister and an oppositionist Knesset, the impact of the combination of direct election of the prime minister and primaries is tikely to differ in the two major political camps.

Netanyahu has supported both reforms. A presidential style of leadership is consistent with the populist tradition of Jabotinsky. How this jibes with the presence of 14 MKs with independent hases of power is a question.

The political socialization of Shimon Peres is strongly parliamentarian. He opposed the adoption of direct elections and is less than enthusiastic about primaries. The Lahor movement rests un a federative hasis, antagonistic to populistic leadership. Peres, like Yitzhak Rahin before him, is aware of the limitations of party leadership.
Even Rabin, with his presiden-

tial pretensions, refused to condone the return of Haim Ramon to Labor on terms similar to Netanyahu's deals with Tsomet and Gesher. Nor has Peres tried to lure back the Third Way, even though the Golan issue is off the agenda for the coming elections.

However, if there are problems in putting together a majority coalition, the political system as a whole is in for trouble. Perhaps the direct election of the prime minister and primaries are festivals of democracy. But after the festivities, what then?

The writer is a legal and political commentator.

evil and violence continue to

defile the human spirit. This

courageous act shows that moral

aspiration and hope can tran-

scend the memory of suffering

As in the past, so today. We

cannot let the terrorists and the

Assads of history become the

bombings will end or whether another madman will blow him-self up in a crowded hus or at a

pedesirian crossing. Total secu-

rity against maniscal terrorists

But there is one form of secu-

rity that our enemies bave never

heen able to destroy: our power

to remember and tell liberation

stories; to pursue freedum and

justice, even from the margins of

history; our power to sing "Next year in Jerusalem" in spite of

We must never forget Egypt.

We must never forget the Holocaust. But we must remem-

ber that what makes us Jews is

the fact that Moses brought us to

The writer is founder and director of the Shalom Hartman

Institute, and a member of the

Department of Jewish Thought

at the Hebrew University.

insecurity and vulnerability.

apparently cannot he achieved.

No one knows whether suicide

focal points of our identity.

in shaping our destiny.



American import that works

hy governor, every thinking man will be voting for you," an avid admirer once said to Adlai Stevenson. Unimpressed, the mao who ultimately lost two consecutive presidential races, retorted: "Yes, but what I need is

a majority." This politically-charged week left scores of disgruntled losers across Israel, people whose polit-ical aspirations, like Stevenson's, were dealt a severe blow when they failed to win a majority.

And in line with local custom, only a very few of them were noble enough to attribute their defeats to their own rather than the system's failures.

As may be expected, many of those losers now shrink from Israel's new, jingoistic, telegenic politics of fliers, T-sbirts, and tnuch screens.

to define itself as a persecuted. But the system is good – and if victim. Instead it chiese to build a some doubted its merits, this a homeland, in a world where week's primary elections did a evil and windows. good job of proving them wrong. It's a great lemptation to say that our American-imported primaries are to politics what cheeseburgers are to gastronomy chean, mass-produced disbes that are high on looks, tasle and

aroma, hut low on nutrition. The primaries, warned their opponents, might suck the business sector into dense political lahyrinths, spawning demagogues and transforming nonentities into instant leaders - like Chauncey, the bandsome gardener in Jerzy Kosinski's Being There who rose to political prominence in spite of being

mentally retarded. Yes, the relationship between politics and big husiness is problematic; hut unly a fool would think it all began with the dawn of the primaries era.

Didn't Mapai's finance minister Pinhas Sapir enlist the clout of leading industrialists like textile tycoon Yisrael Polack hack in the '60s? Didn't Menachem Begin utilize the services of fishing magnate Ya'acov Meridor in the 1970s?

What about Agudat Yisrael? Didn't it tap the wealth of carpet tycoon Avraham Shapira io the 1980s? And didn't millionaire Shmuel Flatto-Sharon criminally buy his way into the Knesset hack in 1977?

Like recent revelations of hig

AMOTZ ASA-EL

business-contaminated politics in Italy, France, Japan and Spain, none of this hore any relation to the primaries system.

To suggest, therefore, that the symbiotic relationship between society's two main power sources, mammon and dominion, began in our time, and in Israel, betrays either ignorance, or devisness, or both.

Moreover, those who were alarmed hy earlier warnings of legislators financed by the underworld roaming the Knessel will

supported, displaying a remarkable measure of conservatism while using their new clout to smooth out the professional politicians' most glaring bumps.

Had it not been for the primaries, we would have had four more years of lackluster party hacks like Micha Harish, the minister of industry and trade, who besieged the Bank of Israel and the Treasury, insisting they hand out tax money to rich foreign investors; or Yisrael Kessar, the minister of transport who did

For those who doubted the merits of primaries, this week went a long way in proving them wrong

have a hard time telling us who those hoodlams' "front men" might be: Knesset Speaker and political scientist Shevah Weiss? Actress Naomi Blamenthal? Classical music expert Dan Meridor? Yossi Beilin, author of three books?

THE PUBLIC did not, in the end, make any particularly awkward choices this week. In fact, the results look as reasonable as any party caucus's, if not downright

Labor, Likud and Meretz voters all elected teams strikingly similar to those they had previously

little - actually, nothing - to privatize our airlines, buses and trains.

In a party caucus riddled with favoritism, Kessar would have easily survived; thanks to the primaries be didn't even bother to run, making room for a fresh new talent like Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami.

Or take Benny Begin, who courageously challenged his party's pathetic pacts with p olitical bitchhikers elbowing their way into the Knesset in hrazen defiance of the primary zeitgeist. Begin would have been stahbed

in the back by the party apparatus

had the public not been given its chance to intercede. All this isn't to say the system is perfect.

The Labor electorate's dismissal this week of Knesset Finance Committee Chairman Gedalya Gal, for instance, was an ugly blow, retribution for the battle he waged against the Electric Company's monopoly on power generation and distribution. The apparently well-orchestrated voting of most of the company's 12,000 employees and their family members sufficed to depose

But would he have survived had his future been decided by a party center, let alone a committee? In all likelihood these would have been even more subservient to union pressure.

In short, this can be said about the primaries: They are better than what we had before. Now they need legislation to standardize and regulate them. Had all the parties' primaries

been held on the same day, required no party membership but just a citizen's ID, been run under the umbrella supervision of a judicial team, and been done for all parties at every voting station - even this writer, an ohsessively apolitical animal, might have voted in them.

The writer is business editor of The Jerusalem Post. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the paper.

Hope, the prevailing motif

· s ... Pessah approaches, many of us are asking: How can we delebrate our liberation while feeling the pain of terrorism and fanatic violence, and anxiety over their recurrence?

What possible meaning can the words "Next Year in Jerusalem" have when Jews fear to ride buses and walk the streets of the city?

In our hearts we always believed that our return to Jerusalem would usher in a period when Jews would no longer feel the anxiety of bomelessness and powerlessness, when the Jewish psyche would regain a

sense of security and trust.

It appears, however, that the idea of redemption in terms of total security and safety is more of a messianic hope than a historical fact.

In this sense, the prayer "Next Year in Jerusalem" remains unfulfilled because we realize that returning home - in the fullest sense - remains an aspiration, and not a description of

our lived reality.

Nevertheless, we continue to celebrate the holiday of Pessah, to retell the great drama of liberation which marks the birth of onr people. The significance of this lies, I helieve, in its deep formative effect on Jewisb consciousness.

The story of this founding moment in our history combines two countervailing motifs: a great bope for redemption, and a profound understanding of the pain and suffering of unredeemed history.

Jewish history and Jewish memory begin with the words "We were slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt." The first memory engraved in our souls is that of slavery and exploitation, the humiliation and degradation of being subject to the arhitrary will of a political despot.

"A new king arose over Egypt who did not know Joseph'

(Exod. 1:8). Despotism cannot be overcome by finding favor with or appeasing a despot. History may always give rise to new pharaohs who seek power with-out limits, feeling no moral compunction in reducing human beings to objects. Abuse of power is endemic to the human condition, and the Pessah story certainly shatters any romantic illusions one might have about inherent goodness in human

nature. However, our movement from Egypt to Sinai - from the cruel despotism of pharaoh to the hopeful vision of Moses informs the harsb reality of human oppression with the dream of becoming a holy peo-

DAVID HARTMAN

As long as we maintain Moses' dream, as long as we understand the significance of commandment, of law and of justice and don't lose sight of what buman potential can and should achieve, we can face the realities of human history without despair.

TELL YOUR children the story of Pharaob and Egypt. Do not romanticize life, or deny the real-But at the same time bring your children to Sinai, to the

ity of exploitation and injustice. place where a nation of slaves heard a call to aspire to holiness

We can celebrate the freedom of Pessah even in uncertain times like these

and justice. Throughout Jewish history, we never wallowed in the degradation of Egypt, hecause we held onto the dream of Sinai and Jerusalem. Despite our hitter experiences of haired and morat ugliness, our psyches were not

defined by suffering. Our longing for Jerusalem was the expression of our dream that one day the sword would indeed be turned into the ploughshare.

In recent history, the rehuild-ing of Israel and Jerusalem embodies the sense of hope that has always nurtured us as a people. The State of Israel attests to our strength in defying the pharaohs of the 20th century through our decision to become a visible - and vulnerable member of the community of

The Jewish people has refused



(U'P

Salute to the GOLAN A day to remember

Join the annual "Salute to the Golan"

on Sunday, April 7th, 1995, Hol Hamoed Pessah

Flight from Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv to the Galilee

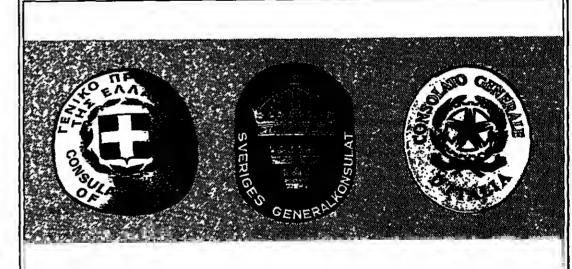
View Syria from a strategic military position. Visit the Golan's largest fruit packing plant, Perot Ha'Golan

Kosher lunch with residents

Qazrin: The world famous Golan winery "Oz LaGolan" spectacular audio-visual exhibit

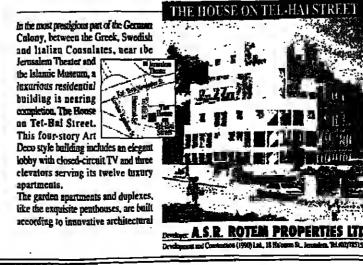
Call us for reservations at 06-963410 Tax deductible contribution of \$250 per person is requested.

Golan Residents Committee, Qazrin, Tel. 06-963410, Fax. 06-963408



THREE CONSULS WILL HAVE THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING YOUR NEIGHBORS

Take a leisurely stroll through the streets of this picturesque neighborhood, with its Jerusalem stone houses tucked away amid the pine trees, and experience its tranquil surroundings. Look around you and you'll think it's the weekend, or perhaps a holiday... Then, you'll realize why so many consuls chose to locate here . Apparently, they too have good taste.



plans, at the highest of construction standards and with perfect finish reflected in every detail. Only a few specious apartments are still available, ranging from four to six rooms each with balconies or gardens,

marble floors, double-glazed windows, deluxe Regba kitchens, underground parking and storage space. SPECIAL OFFER FOR A LIMITED TIME ONLY? Buy now and enjoy custom interior architectural planning at no extra cost.

Marketing and Sales:

ANECOTIE A

THE world waited for Britain to

contain the worsening mad cow

crisis, as trade chaos spread to

Europe and beyond over worries

that eating British beef could be

But the British government, debating how to end the eight-day

crisis, made clear it was not yet

ready to annuance plans to slaughter parts of its 11-million

herd. It wants details, including

decline. The Portuguese have halved their beef intake. Irish cat-

tle have been hanned from Iran in

case they were British cows

smuggled over the Northern Irish

border. Burger chain McDonald's

Beef markets have gone into

compensation, in place first.

dangerous to human health.

Jewish Agency, government sued by **Ukrainian** immigrants

activists from Moscow have been involved in a scam in which immigrants' funds disappeared have reached Jerusalem following the claim for damages filed Wednesday by 175 new immigrants from Ukraine.

The suit filed in the Jerusalem District Court demands NIS 4 million from the head of the Va'ad (the Ukrainian Jewish umbrella organization). Yosef Zisels, as well as the Jewish Agency and the Israeli government's Liaison Bureau, Nativ. They are represented by lawyers Doron Bekerman

between Israel and Ukraine.

and Yoram Sheftel. Zisels is said to divide his time According to the charges, the immigrants gave money from their savings and the sale of their prop-erty to Zisels to transfer to Israel at

the advice of emissaries working

BATSHEVA TSUR

for the agency and bureau.

However, they claim they were not paid the sums half a year later, as had been stipulated in their

contract with the Va'ad. The agency spokesman expressed surprise that the agency's name had been raised in

There is no and has not been

any, connection between the agency and its emissaries and the transfer of funds to Israel," the spokesman said. "The transfer of foreign capital through private financial companies is illegal under Ukrainian law. Anv such attempt would have endangered the work of the emissaries and the subsequent aliya. There are legal methods to buy foreign currency

the Va'ad uses facilities of Israeli organizations, perhaps it is not clear to the immigrants who is an official and who an activist. The agency has already placed ads in Ukrainian papers dissociating itself from such activities and sent similar instructions to emissaries, the spokesman said.

Aliya department head Uri Gordon asked Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal several months ago to launch a police investigation into the affair. When the first charges by immi-

grants that they had lost money

left with so-called consular and

agency officials in Ukraine were

first received 14 months ago, the

agency investigated and it

appeared that all the names and

addresses of those involved

belonged to the Va'ad activists.

Israeli

Arabs to

mark 20th

DAVID RUDGE

ISRAELI Arab leaders have

decided to mark the 20th anniver-

is using Dutch beef.

"We must return to a more rational approach," French Farm Minister Philippe Vasseur said, adding that markets were now being driven by "fantasy and irrationality" and the top priority for

World waits for Britain to contain mad cow panic

> VANORA BENNETT LONDON

Europe was to restore consumer

The crisis began when the British government admitted on Murch 20 that there was a possible link herween bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) and its deadly human strain Creutzveld-Jacob disease. Both attack the

Europeans took their own damage-limitation measures.

An emergency meeting for European Union farm ministers was set for Monday, following the European Commission's decision on Wednesday to ban all exports of British beef and beef products to protect human health.

Vasseur suspended slaughtering and the sale of cattle and calves of British origin in France, at least until Monday, "as a precautionary measure to restore calm.

Germany's health minister ordered beef to carry health certificates proving it did not come from Britain pending new EU rules to check mad cow disease.

Germany followed a Wednesday lead by French President Jacques Chirac and offered solidarity and possible financial help for Britain if it opted to slaughter parts of its

British farmers facing bank-ruptev reacted with fury to what they saw as government procrasti-

-For the government to go floundering on while farmers' businesses go down the tubes is turning them [farmers] from despondency to fury," said Robin Craddock, the National Farmers Union (NFU) representative in northeast England.

Slaughtering vast numbers of cattle would create immense practical problems - including how to dispose of the bodies.

If older cattle likeliest to have the disease were killed at a rate of 15,000 a week, the bill would come to £650 million (\$1 billion) a year. A more radical option, slaughtering all cattle in berds touched by BSE, would cost up to £6 billion (\$9 billion).

Inside Britain, the crisis became a new stick with which to beat the unpopular Conservative

Prime Minister John Major. "In one fateful week, this government by its own ineptitude bas transformed what the chief medical officer accurately described as 'a cause for concern' into a, public relations fiasco," thundered the usually pro-government Daily

The crisis surrounding one of Britain's major export earners was dominating proceedings in and around parliament all day, ending with a debate in the House of Commons in the evening.

(Reuter)

Sarah Ho

sens pan

J. 101

Woman held in connection with husband's murder

THE wife of a Jerusalem man found murdered in his home three months ago has been arrested "in connection with the murder," police announced yesterday, after she was remanded for nine days

by Jerusalem Magistrate's Court, Mark Sperber, 29, was found dead hy a habysitter who had been called to the family's Ramot apartment hy his wife Yulia, 26. who at the time told police she was worried when he failed to answer the phone, and had no idea

Land Day quietly A few days later, police detained a man who was allegedly having an affair with Yulia Sperber, helieving he was involved. But

wards, and apparently is no longer a suspect. Police are keeping a tight lid on the investigation, and presented classified material to the judge to ensure details of the case would not be made public, on grounds it

the man was released soon after-

Arab parties negotiate united list

next week.

Civilian IDF workers file labor dispute

The Histadrut announced yesterday that for the first time in the state's

bistory, it has endorsed the declaration of a labor dispute involving civil-

ian IDF employees. Yehoshua Maimon, head of an employees union

with some 12,000 members, charged the IDF with violating a collective agreement it has with 80,000 workers in managerial positions and 15,000 other workers. Histadrut Chairman MK Amir Peretz said the labor federation will do everything possible to avert a strike.

With sorrow we announce the passing of

our beloved mother and grandmother

LUBA BERGER

The funeral will take place today, Friday, March 29, 1996, at 2:00 p.m.,

at Kibbutz Tzorah.

Son: Solly and Cora Berger

Hannah and Isaac Bloch

Danya, Rami and Keren

Daughters: Bessle and Ozzy Ozinsky

Bertha Berger

Grandchildren: Rosalle, Beverley, Larry,

Shiva at Kibbutz Tzorah

The staff of

Anglo-Saxon Real Estate (Jerusalem)

extend sincere condolences to

the managing director of the company

Werner Loval

on the death of his sister

ERICA STEINBERGER

in New York

May her memory be a blessing.

Deeply mourned by her

disappointment that there was no

representative from the Galilee on

the party's Knesset list, due to a

plethora of candidates who split

the votes in the primaries.

OFFICIALS of the Islamic Movement and the Democratic Arab Party (DAP) led by MK Abdul Wahab Darawshe began formal negotiations in Nazareth last night to forge a united Arab

list to run in the Knesset elections. Contacts have been held between the two groups since the decision of the movement earlier this week to run on a unified list for the first time in its history.

been in touch with the newly formed Arab Movement for Change (AMC) party headed by Dr. Ahmed Tibi, adviser to Palestinian Authority chairman

Yasser Arafat.
The AMC held its founding convention in Taiba on Wednesday night and elected its central com-

sary of Land Day, which falls tomorrow, in quiet fashion. Municipal services in Arah towns and villages throughout the country will be shut down for the day. although all schools and husinesswould burt the investigation.

es will be open as usual.

In the past, leaders of the 800,000-strong Arab community have declared a general strike on Land Day to mark their struggle against the expropriation of Arab-

owned land by the state.

The first Land Day demonstrations, on March 30, 1976, erupted in riots in which six Israeli Arabs mittee, which will choose the were killed and dozens of people. party's Knessel candidates next including police and members of week. The convention also decidthe security forces, were injured.

ed on the party's platform and There have been violent erup-tions during Land Day demonstra-The DAP has already chosen its tions on previous occasions, but in candidates, with the list being the past few years the event has headed by its two outgoing Mks, Darawshe and Taleb a-Sanaa. passed quietly, becoming more of a holiday for the Israeli Arab com-Party spokesman Mobammed munity. The event this year seems Darawsbe said DAP officials are likely to follow the same trend optimistic that an agreement over a joint list would be reached by following a decision by the moni-toring committee of the Israeli Arah leadership not to call a gen-Meanwhile, supporters of the eral strike. Labor Party among the Arab com-munity in the North expressed

Instead, it was decided to devote the first two bours of lessons in Arab schools to the Land Day issue and its significance, and tie this in with discussions on democracy and the peace

A spokesman for the monitoring committee said parades and memorial services for those who died in the first Land Day demonstrations 20 years ago would be held in the Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev, as in previous

Parties pledge to run clean campaigns

LIAT COLLINS

LESS than five minutes after signing a covenant pledging to run clean election campaigns, Tzahi Hanegbi (Likud) and Labor whip Ra'anan Cohen bad already accused each other of being unable to uphold it. Representatives from several parties signed the covenant yesterday in the Knesset, with new parties expected to sign in the future. It calls for dignified election campaigns without physical violence or personal, religious and ethnic slurs. It also demands party activists keep the country clean and obey anti-littering laws regarding campaign posters and flyers.

The covenant was prepared before previous elections by the Sovlanut (Tolerance) Movement and was overseen by Justice Theodore Orr, bead of the Central

Although most speakers at the short signing ceremony used the words "tolerance" and "unity." Hanegbi accused the coalition of making arbitrary decisions and exploiting a tiny Knesset majority.

After the ceremony, Hanegbi told reporters he is "skeptical about the ability of the ruling par-ties to keep to the pledge for a fair and equal campaign.

"Look who's talking," Cohen replied, "Hanegbi will breach everything that's written in it. He's the last person to teach the Labor Party about fair play."

Russian forces make grab for Chechen territory

forces attacked Chechen separatists on three fronts yesterday. trying to seize control of more territory in the breakaway region before President Boris Yeltsin unveils a new peace plan on

A Defense Ministry spokesman in Moscow said planes and anillery were used in the assaults in southern, southwestern and southeastern Chechnya. In the last 24 hours Russian

aviation and artillery have continued delivering strikes against rehel positions in the vicinity of Bamui Stary Achkhoi and Orekhovo," he said.

Bamut, in the southwest, houses a tormer Soviet nuclear missile bombarding for more than a year. Guerrillas are holed up in the tunnels and corridors of the com-

plex, which houses four bombproof concrete shafts once used to store medium-range ballistic missiles, It is seen as one of the rebels' most important strongholds in the foothills of the Chechen mountains.

The spokesman said federal forces had sealed off two villages in southern Chechnya and were starting to blockade three more settlements in the southeast.

Russian proops hold most of the Chechen lowlands, but they have failed to make any big territorial gains in the mountains, despite 15 months of fighting.

Zulus march with

spears through

Johannesburg

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter) - Twelve thousand Zulus, many brandish-

ing spears marched through Johannesburg yesterday to mark the killing two years ago of eight fellow tribesmen by guards of South Africa's

Fears of violence, especially after the Zulus vowed to defy a ban on

But the march ended peacefully, with praise for the Zulus from the

"The organizers and the majority of the marchers were disciplined and

The march was the biggest in South Africa's commercial capital since

all-race elections in April 1994. Police said they seized 13 assegais

(stabbing spears) and an ax from one group.

But winesses said police seemed generally content to avoid confrontation as long as marchers many brandishing spears and sharpened

There were no reports of violence in the city center, largely deserted

except for the Zulus, some of whom carried placards condemning President Nelson Mandela "Mandela deserves a death sentence" and

showed good spirit throughout the march," provincial police commis-

their carrying traditional weapons such as spears, brought the deploy-ment of more than 3,000 police and troops.

The latest efforts seem designed to push the fighters into the thinly populated southern mountains, for from strategic oil pipelines and from the regional capital Grozny, a city of 400,000 people before the fighting started December 1994. Officials in Moscow and

among the Russian-backed administration in Grozny have said large-scale assaults in the Caucasus region will end once Yeltsin announces his peace plan.

The proposals, believed to involve limited troop withdrawals and the creation of so-called "islands of peace" in the region, will not meet the independence demands of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev.

German Embassy worker killed in Togo

LOME, Togo (AP) - Soldiers manning a roadblock shot to death a German diplomat after he refused to let them search his car, the government said yesterday of The suspects were later arrested.

German Embassy employee whose duties included acting as an administrative and technical attache. According to a communique

read over state-run radio, the victim was stopped at about 11 p.m. Wednesday at a routine roadblock in the capital, Lome. Such roadblocks are common throughout West Africa and often are used by soldiers or police to extort money from drivers.

The victim, who was driving alone, stopped for the soldiers, but when they demanded to search his car be sped off. Soldiers opened fire on the vehicle, killing the man.

Russian tv reporter slain in Tajikistan

MOSCOW (AP) - A correspondent for Russia's largest television station was gunned down yester-day at his office in Dushanbe, the

capital of war-torn Tajikistan.
Viktor Nikulin, 27, was the 29th
journalist killed in the former Soviet republic since the 1992 civil war, the ITAR-Tass news agency said.

He was shot twice after answering a knock on his office door yesterday afternoon, said Nadezhda Stekova in the chief production office at ORT television in

"He was so young, just a boy, the son of our correspondent there," she said. "They were just

beginning to work together."
In Dushanbe, Tajikistan's deputy interior minister, Gen.
Gennady Blinov, told ITAR-Tass that the slaying was a "terrorist act" by an unknown guman. He did not relationate.

Tajikistani is an impoverished former Soviet republic in Central Asia where a hardline, Moscowbacked government has been at war with mostly Islamic opposition fighters for years.

The government has been harshly criticized by prominent international human rights groups for widespread human rights violations, including cases involving iournalists.

Opposition forces have also been criticized for terrorist attacks, including the murders of Russians living in Tajikistan.

ORT is the largest broadcaster in the former Soviet Union.

Bulgaria to recall **Swiss**

sioner Sharma Maharaj said.

metal bars stayed orderly.

"Mandela is a killer."

envoy in antisemitic row

SOFIA (Reuter) - Bulgaria said on Wednesday it planned to recall its ambassador to Switzerland following her controversial marriage to an alleged antisemite.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman told Reuters that Elena Kircheva bad failed to obey government instructions and bad harmed the country's image abroad with her marriage.

Kircheva's busband, Petar Hadzhidimitrov, is known in Switzerland for his antisemitic views, his admiration of Adolf Hitler and his denials that the Holocaust ever took place, the spokesman said.

The couple married earlier this year. Though Bulgarian-born, Hadzbidimitrov bas lived in Switzerland since 1974, be

"Of course we have distanced ourselves from the views of this man and wish above all to preserve our good relations with Switzerland," the spokesman Bulgaria's Jewish organization

Shalom has expressed concern over the incident in a letter to the foreign ministry, the state news agency BTA said. President Zhelyu Zhelev, who appointed Kireheva as Sofia's ambassador to Berne in 1991, has

approved the procedure to remove

her from her post, BTA reported.

Briton robs gas station to pay for wedding

LONDON (Reuter) - A penniless Britisb bridegroom who robbed the same gas station twice in two days to pay for his wedding and honeymoon was jailed yesterday for five years. Police arrested 47-year-old

Derek Lovett as he waited for bis marriage ceremony to begin, dressed in a suit with a carnation in his buttonhole. Norma Miller, bis bride-to-be.

burst into tears as he was dragged off in handcuffs in January. Lovett turned to crime when he

realized he could not afford to pay the registry office where the couple were due to marry or buy a wedding ring. He robbed a gas station in east

London last December, making off with £150 (\$230), and returned two days later to steal the same amount again. Police identified him after looking at security camera film.

The court heard that Miller still wanted to marry Lovett and would wait until he was released.



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NEWS IN FOCUS

Friday, March 29, 1996

And the winner is ... the party establishment

Sarah Honig reviews this week's party primaries in the run-up for May's elections

N the late 1970s Malcolm Wallop, a rich rancher from Big Horn, Wyoming, decided he'd like to represent his state in the US Senate. The consultants he hired could find oothing with which their man could hit the incumbent. So they composed a rousing western-style song that exhorted the voters to "come join the Wallop Senate drive."

The lively cowboy tune accompanied a video clip showing Wallop leading cheery tiders, all suitably-attired in western garb and hoisting the state flag, galloping exuberantly across the range.

The reason Wailop should be elected, according to the vibrant refrain, was that he is "Wyoming to the spur." The man who came up with this campaign line could not later explain what "Wyoming to the spur meant, but said it sounded good and so he insisted

He was right. Wallop defeated his very able predecessor and went oo to win more elections because he had a catchy jingle, a great PR team and the money to pay for them. The issues were of no con-

It may be tempting to laugh this off as an embodiment of American shallowness, impossible in our deeply polarized political environ-

But the primaries we have just come through this week might well indicate that the Wallop Senate drive is exactly the sort on which our politicians might be

This week they had already started down that trail. Likud MK Uzi Landau, one of the architects of his party's defunct septets system, had long ago warned that the primaries will stifle any ideology and idealism still left in our politics.

Landau considers the primaries a distasteful ordeal. He is not affluent and personally finds it "difficult to solicit for funds. But without money there is no chance.

"I preferred seeking contributions from Jews overseas rather factor who might later need a favor. "Actually I am one of the lucky ones. I made my name before the advent of primaries. For a newcomer with no vast sums to back his political venture, it's impossible to put a foot in the primary door.

"In the end we will be left only with the rich in the Knesset or with those who bad managed to win the patronage of questionable powerhrokers and kingmakers. The bonest, capable, serious people will not even try.

Many - not only in Landau's party - share his view that the primaries might encourage corrup-tion and the rise of political godfathers, worse than in the Mapai oligarchy of old.

No sooner was the voting in the Labor primary over Monday

Peres opined that "this system needs repair. The financial hurden it imposes on candidates is unbearable."

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak, who can't complain about the outcome, nevertheless reported "a gut feeling that this system will be

Indeed everywhere in the political arena the assessment is that after May 29, moves will be initiated to correct the system and insert into it controls so that worthy candidates will not lose out to the brash, the beautiful and the wealthy. This might well be the last time in which we see the primaries in their present form, if we believe what is being said about

them in the two large parties.
But it would be foolbardy to place any bets on reform just yet, because basically this week's pri-maries served the party establishments well.

In some cases, as in Meretz, the results were very much like what the appointments committee of yesteryear would have produced io the smoke-filled back room.

What was is pretty much what is in Meretz. All the MKs who were on the 1992 list made it back, except for Shulamit Aloni and Yair Tzaban who bowed out.

The fact that the oew names oo the list were relegated to the unsafe 11th and 12th slots only underscores the claim that the primary system confers great advantage on those who are already

But Meretz is just a small pond in comparison to the large Labor pool, where one might expect things to be far more difficult to control. Yet a careful examination of the results shows that even here the party machine did extremely well. When all is said and done, only Health Minister Ephraim Such really beat it. Everything else went just as the party establish-ment could have wished. It is the single great winner of the Labor

Peres can smile with satisfaction. Had be drawn up the list himself, as he did when he chaired the appointments committees before 1992, he would not have changed much. Uzi Baram in second slot suits him just fine.

Baram is someone relatively barmiess, hardly a real challenger or a serious contender for the premiership, but he is a perfect tool with which to put the more ambitious younger boys in their place.

Peres preferred Barak over his rival Interior Minister Haim Ramoo and indeed Barak heat Ramon, but was himself pushed down a peg, which from Peres's point of view is just perfect.

What happeoed to Ramon is certainly the vengeance of the party machine. There were organized deals and lists prepared in advance from which his name was deleted. Ramon had feared just that, and

in which not just fee-paying party members could participate. This, he argued, would make it impossible for there to be bloc votes and boycotts such as the one the Histadrut old guard, closely allied to Peres, organized against

The fact that Peres's protege Yossi Beilin rose so high is also a tribute to the efficiency of the party machine, considering Beilin hardly campaigned. In 1992 he was in 27th slot and even that only after Ramon came to his aid.

The blow to Ramon and the boost for Beilin can only please Peres. His influence is omnipresent. The obligatory woman at the top is Dalia Itzik. who is close to Peres, rather than Ora Namir of the old Rabin camp. That Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami captured a safe slot is not a sign that

CITY-COUNTRY____

that if Peres wills it, it can bappen. we recall that Sharon too was sup-On the eve of the primaries Labor realized in panic that no Moroccans might get in It was then the Peres pulled all stops to make sure that Ben-Ami does well. It worked.

posed to have been targeted, yet he

did better than all of the Likud's

In fact, in terms of the real

power play, be is seen as the great winner of the Likud primaries,

well-rewarded for unifying the

national camp.

This, coupled with the fact that

the Likud lacks anything like Labor's centralized well-oiled

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TO SEE the jubilation on Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu's face, one must assume that things had worked for him too. The nettlesome Benny Begin and Dan Meridor came in after newcomer General Yitzhak Mordechai, political matchmaker Ariel Sharoo and even Knesset faction chairman Moshe Katsav.

Could this be the result of those rumored prepared lists from which their princely names were deliberately omitted? The easy thing is to betieve that Netanyahu indeed engaged in punitive action. But this theory runs into trouble when

Mordechai, who enjoyed star sta-tus and has not yet made any ene-

That the general he himself brought to the Likud von top billing no doubt pleases Netanyahu as it deprives Labor of the line that no one high up on his list belongs to Netanyahu's fan

Mordechai most ardently does. But the fact that someone who entered the party at the last moment could so clearly beat veteran runners, more than anything testifies to his vote-getting poten-tial rather than to the Likud being a political land of opportunity.

This year it was anything but. To begin with, the race in the Likud was more grueling than in Labor because of built-in burdles. Labor set aside a full half of its

list to regional candidates, who will become the new Knesset's backbenchers but who pay low entrance fees.

While MK Eli Dayan failed to win a safe slot despite garnering over 74,000 votes, Ron Huldai in Tel Aviv got in with a mere 2.800. In the Likud only a third of the list went to the regional candidates. This in itself makes for a

dates. This in itself makes for a more crowded national track and a far more uphill race.

But when 14 safe slots went to Tsomet and Gesher implants, the odds against the Likud nationwide contestants grew atrocious, with only 18 safe slots left open. Except for stars like Mordechai and former deputy GSS chief Gideon Ezra, only incumbents - and very popular ones at that - stood any

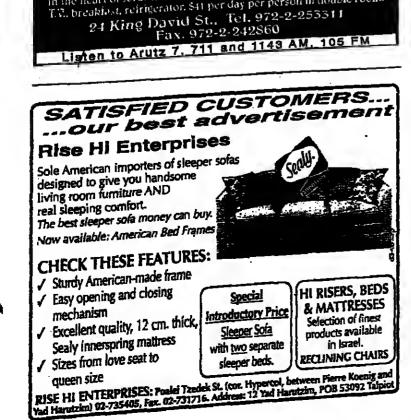
Netanyahu will be able to get away with having so drastically cut his party's Knesset representation only if be wins the premiership. Then, there will also be little chance that Likudniks who this week advocated amending the primary system will get anywhere.

Netanyahu after all is the most eothusiastic proponent of anything American in Israeli politics. He himself won the Likud leadership. via the primary system. He is in his element in this style of politics. If he has his way, this is how his party will choose its candidates in future campaigns as well. To his mind there is no way back.

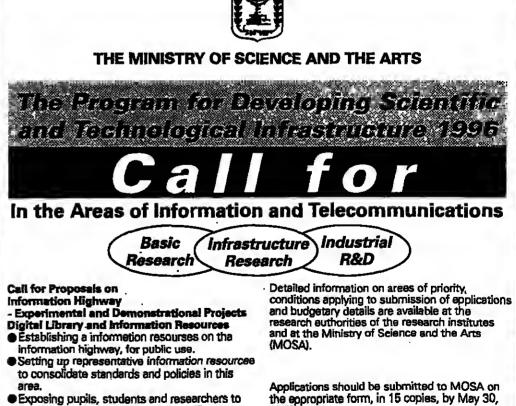
"It'll be sad if primaries are bere to stay, even though I personally did well in them," Landau says. He is sure that "in a few campaigns from now Israeli politics will become the exclusive preserve of the rich and famous."

And if his dire predictions are borne out, we may soon see our own local version of Malcolm Wallop saddling up - for the great





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oud possibility.

There were indeed attempts to

push Begin and Meridor down a

few notches; but that these came

from other ambitious candidates

Some who supported Sharon,

Katsav and other froot runners

may have oot voted for Begin and

Meridor, while everybody did vote

for the universally popular

seeking their own high placing.

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Say goodbye to jingles, say hello to balloons

Although politicians still use the billboard to push their campaigns, there are plenty of other alternatives, Rachel Neiman writes

TOT so long ago, election advertising used to he limited to radio jingles, wall posters, graffiti and news-

Today it looks like the sky's the limit. As a matter of fact, a company called B. Rimon Agencies is pitching ad space on

Benny Rimon says he has plenty more products on which to print the name of a candidate or party - including the EZ-Up Shelter, a collapsible tent for outdoor gatherings; polyester tablecloths; road markers; flashlights and pocket knives.

A more traditional method of political advertising is the use of outdoor signs. Moshe Nur. whose company holds 58 percent of the billboard market here, says his medium "gives a hrainwash nothing else can." Most candidates have opted for 50 units either nationwide or

within a given region. The cost of a one-week-long ing period is \$15,000.



es more people," he says,

in terms of the impression it

makes. However, he points out.

it will reach only a certain seg-

ment of the population - those

New technologies in outdoor

signs, such as three-sided signs and their pse in creating mini-

animations, is not a factor in

election campaign ads. says

Use of this most populist of media forms is forbidden in the

Knesset telections, according to

laws limiting sign size, content and location. Nur says these

laws have been relaxed for other

media "with stronger lobbies

than ours" and says this is dis-

file a complaint with the High Court. "We were planning to file

a proposal to amend the law, but

hecause of early elections we

crimination.

who use that road.

Before national elections, places like Jerusalem's Mahane Yehuda market are flooded with posters of Knesset candidates and their parties. week before the primaries.

and Nur says some candidates had even planned to take advan-tage of this option for a second

interestingly, most of the candidates opted fur Nur 10 do their graphics (this can include everything from hillhoards to flyers and wast posters). as

> The newly implemented primary system means that for the first time posters have to get across the personality of some relatively unknown politicians, he says. Photos of the candidates help immeasurably in penetrating the public consciousness.

opposed to working through an

ad agency. Nur says it's an issue

"Surveys done hy Limor Livnat [Likud] found she had a 75% rise in exposure rating after her signs went up," says Nur, who used photos to work wonders in creating awareness for Haim Ramon during his hid to head the Histadrut.

Location is also an important element in outdoor signs. Nur and other sign companies all have municipal permits for their billboards and are licensed to rent out space.

temporary sign locations and rent them directly to parties. The companies de not erect special

don't have time." Size also plays a part. For Nur also maintains that these maximum exposure. Nur recom-

mends a combination of large restrictions force party activists and small signs, "Large gives a to resort to "barbaric" methods such as "sticking up their own sense of power but small reachposters on people's walls, using The cost of renting a superspray paint and causing damsized biliboard over a major highway costs some \$5,000 for LESS DAMAGING, though production plus \$6,000 for a week's rental and is invaluable equally annoying, are the use of

junk mail and telephone sur-Érez Almogi, general director of the Israel Direct Mail and Telemarketing Center, says he estimates "more hudgets will be devoted to direct marketing and telemarketing during the upcoming elections. The reason wby?

lt works. The advantage of this method is that we appeal with relatively expensive media (manpower-intensive telephone calls and printing) but we deal with very focused groups," says Almogi.

Companies such as Almogi's

work with data bases. "In 1992 we did a fundraising the large political parties and raised over \$1 million." he says. The best way to raise funds is to locate past donors, the group with the highest rate of positive response, but this accounts for only a few thousand people.

For this reason, parties also have to appeal to people who have never contributed.

In this case, Almogi says he looks for people with "high potential," meaning those with some form of declared party affiliation. After that its a question of combing the data bases for groups based on a range of parameters: ethnic group, geographic region, neighborhood, profession, marital status - whatever works.

ALMOGI SAYS his company even identified those who had difficulty reaching polling sta-tions and passed their names onto their client. Rides were snbsequently arranged. The name of the game is to get as many people as possible to the

Almogi also specializes in organizing small discussion groups in people's houses. "We believe that one-on-one is the best way to sell." Personalization is also important in direct mail.

he adds. have an advantage over TV, be says. "You've got to take into account that in 1992 there was only one station. This time there are two channels plus cable. That means the number of viewers [per ad] will be much lower

and the cost-effectiveness of TV advertising less."

This is particularly true for primaries, he points out, with their NIS 200,000-per-candidate limit on advertising budgets. "This is very low, so expensive media such as TV, newspapers and radio won't play a part."

Diffuse though it may be, TV has become the most dominant media form used in campaigning since being allowed in 1984, says Haim Pelled, chairman of the Israeli chapter of the Advertising International Association. The reason is that "if reaches most of the popula-

"No paper and no billboard can reach that many," Pelled says: "Radio lacks the added dimension of being able to look the candidate in the eye." Eyewitness, he points out, also carries more weight in the Jewish legal tradition. "There's another Jewish expression: 'A man sees with the eyes of his spirit.'
People see TV even if they don't always listen. They use it to interpret a candidate's reliability, empathy, trustworthiness."

In the past, says Pelled, who has been in the ad business since 1959, political parties used movie reels to get across their message.

"Generally, the emphasis was on construction, building, industry, immigration and everything centered around the idea of national security."

This focus around national rather than personal security is a very important point, Pelled says, and was expressed in party makeup. Whoever had the most generals had the electoral power, so it was easier then for the Left to sell itself."

Israel's right, he says, scored its first conp with Arik Sharon. Today, "the Likud has more generals than Labor."

Pelled predicts this relative advantage is temporary, as personal security in the face of terrorism gains in importance.

The shift, he says, came in the late '70s "after peace with Egypt, perhaps," and the party with the most security experts will be the one with the edge. "Every party will need one."
As a believer in concentrated

efforts. Pelled advises political campaigns to use less forms of media and more clear messages. "the kind that enter your mind. The kind with a high level of trust. And don't be afraid of emotion:

No matter what the medium, he says, the message must always be clear. "That's much easier for the opposition to deliver a clear message, as they're free from having to account for their actions."

Take for example the Likud-Jerusalem" hillboards. The short, clear message was a blow. Pelled says, as was the linkage to Peres's name. "Lahor should have delivered a quick and direct response," he says. "They didn't and the score is now 1 to 0."

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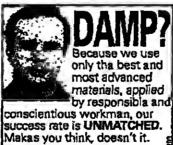
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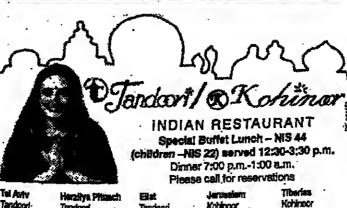
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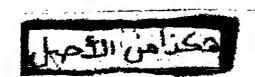


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Er day March 29 1

FEATURES

IDF to leave Hebron later rather than sooner

HIS week Israel was supposed to have handed over most parts of Hebron to the Palestinians. marking the culmination of the end of the interim peace agree-

ment with the PLO. It didn't. Instead, in the wake of the recent brutal suicide bombings, Israel chose to violate the accords and use Hebron as a card to pressure Yasser Arafat to crack down further on Islamic

Much to the Palestinians' chagrin, and to the relief of the Jews living in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, the IDF remains in control of the Judean town.

No one seems to know when the army will hand over the 90 percent of Hebron it was supposed to have done to the

Palestinians. Hehron mayor Mustafa Natshe says he has turned to the Israeli military governor to find out when the withdrawal will now take place.

"He said all the preparations were completed and he is waiting for the orders. But none bave come. It can bappen within a few bours," Natshe says.

A few blocks away in Beit Hadassah. Jewish settler spokesman David Wilder finds himself in a similar state of uncertainty.

"They haven't told us anything." he says, still not comprehending how Israel can intend to band over the City of Ahraham to the Palestinians.

"Ahandonment of any part of Israel is unimaginable. But the fact that they would leave Hebron would lead to a serious and rapid deterioration of the security situation for us [all]," says Wilder, a spokesman for the 450-member Jewish community in Hebron.

HEBRON WAS to bave been the eighth and final West Bank city Israel was to have turned over to the Palestinians under the peace accord. It was saved for last because it is the most complicated.

Considered holy by both Jews and Moslems, the small enclave of settlers, guarded by hundreds of soldiers, lives among over 80,000 Arabs.

Now, Prime Minister Shimon Peres has imposed a list of conditions the Palestinians must fulfill for the IDF's partial with-drawal to go shead. Is ael wants the Palestinians to capture Monammed Dief, the mastermind of the latest bus bombings, and change the clauses in the Palestinian Covenant calling for Israel's destruction.

A delay for technical reasons is no longer valid since the IDF has already removed much of its equipment from the areas it is to vacate in Hebron and the bypass road is practically com-

In fact, army commanders and defense officials say the IDF redeployment could probably take place in in about six hours once the orders are given.

But defense sources say the troops are likely to remain there at least until after Pessah. during which tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit.

The Israelis are holding Hebron hostage." Natshe says. "This is a violation of the agree. ment and it's making the people in the city frustrated and they don't believe that there is a peace process in this area. Since Oslo, nothing has been improved and the situation has only gone from bad to worse."

BUT BEYOND the demands on the Palestinian Authority. Israel's hesitation is equally derived from its own fears that handing over most of Hehron, a hothed of Hamas activity, to the PA would make it more vulnera-

ble to attacks. In the race for another term as prime minister, Peres has sidelined his visionary image and appears to have taken up Yitzhak Rabin's "Mr. Security" role. Knowing another terrorist attack could give his Likud rival the edge in this neck-and-neck race, it raises the question of whether Peres will order the withdrawal from Hebron before the May 29 elections.

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak binted on Wednesday that even the talks on the permanent peace agreement - which are supposed to begin in May -

might be delayed. When the blood of our people is spilling in the streets, we cannot negotiate or redeploy in Hebron, or consider the modalities of permanent status negotiations," Barak said.

We expect the situation about terror to change before we can redeploy in Hebron," he added. Mayor Natshe complains that his town isbeing used as fodder

for the elections. "After the bombings, there is a competition between the Likud and Labor to try and show who is more severe against the Palestinian people to win more votes. They should have been trying to show what kind of peace they will be bringing

instead," Natshe says. But a freeze on a redeployment is not entirely certain. Depending on how the campaign goes, Peres may want to set facts on the ground in advance of any post-election

And Palestinians argue that having Yasser Arafat's Palestinian police on the ground in Hebron would give him an edge in controlling Islamic mililants there.

The Israelis are holding us hostage, says Hebron's mayor, meanwhile tens of thousands of Israelis are expected to visit the town over Pessah, Arieh O'Sullivan reports

As far as the Palestinians are concerned, they see the failure to redeploy in Hehron as further punishment and a broken Israeli promise which will only cause a further erosion of Palestinian support for the peace process.

"We are not prepared to pay the price for Peres's election [win]. They are making a big mistake and the support of the population for the peace process is decreasing daily." says Jamil the Palestinian

Authority's Minister of Civil

Affairs. "Peres said he doesn't need to make any more security preparations to redeploy the Israeli army from Hebron. The decision is his and everyday he stalls, it changes the atmosphere in the West Bank," Tarifi

They are making demands on us to be committed to the agreement and take steps against Hamas, while they themselves are not committed to the accords," Tarift says.

Mark Heller, a senior research fellow at the Jaffee Center, speculated that the last thing the government wanted was to give the opposition "cheap ammunition" for attacking it in the elec-

"Handing over Hehron and then having an attack from there would be electorally fatal,"

Heller says. Wilder also helieves the troops would remain in place until after the elections.

"The fact that he is turning over parts of Israel and giving Hamas a present in Hebron is diametrically opposed to any-thing be says," asserts Wilder.

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to ISRAEL.



He has exposed just how much danger Israel's Democracy is in. Because the fact that he is being held in administrative detention means he is being denied "due process." That's the term we Americans use to describe the basic right you as an individual have to know what crimes you've been charged with. So you can defend yourself in a court of law.

Israel's use of administrative detention has been denounced around the world. Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz labeled it "a serious breach of civil liberties." And while the government has defended this policy on the grounds of national security, it is now being used for very different purposes. To

intimidate any and all opposition to the Oslo Accords.

We Americans could never make heads or tails out of Israel's Left or Right. When Likud was in power, they steadfastly protected the freedom of speech of those on the Left. But now that there's a Labor government, those on the Right are silenced, brutalized or worse.

In the case of Rabbi Ginsburgh, he was denied his basic religious freedoms for two weeks. His

Daily updates available at http://www.dorsai.org/~ginsburg/

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conditions only improved after a storm of protest from around the world. Some 40 members. of Knesset have signed a letter asking for his release. U.S. Congressmen and Senators have expressed their outrage.

All we can do is mount a worldwide media campaign to expose this blatant abuse of civil liberties. But you, the citizens of Israel, can do something far more effective. Exercise the one democratic right your government cannot take

Your right to vote.

Americans for the Safeguarding of Democracy in Israel

Playing it safe with Israel

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab Jerusalemites applying for Israeli citizenship. Jacob Dallal investigates

n a recent afternoon at a Jerusalem office. George brought refreshments for his Jewish co-workers on the occasion of his having just received Israeli citizenship.

George (not his real name) is not a new immigrant; he is an Arab who has lived in the Jerusalem area all his life. Until about a year ago. like almost every Arab living in Jerusalem, George had a "blue card" which gave him permanentresident status in Israel but not citi-

But with the uncertainty of the future direction the peace process might take - including the status of Jerusalem - and with the handing over of areas around Jerusalem to the Palestinian Authority, George became worried about the future.

He decided to be on the safe side and exercise his night as a Jerusalem resident to apply for Israeli citizenship for himself and his family.

In making this move, George is part of a growing trend: In recent months there has been a dramatic rise in the number of Arab residents of Jerusalem applying for Israeli

Many of these people feel that, should things take a turn for the worse under Palestinian rule, they will now be able to turn to Israel for protection. They will be able to continue to work and move freely in Israel, regardless of the situation in the Palestinian areas, and will have the option of moving to live within the Green Line if things become very bad. In addition they will enjoy the benefits of National Insurance.

Until recently, only a tiny number of Jerusalem Arabs applied for citi-

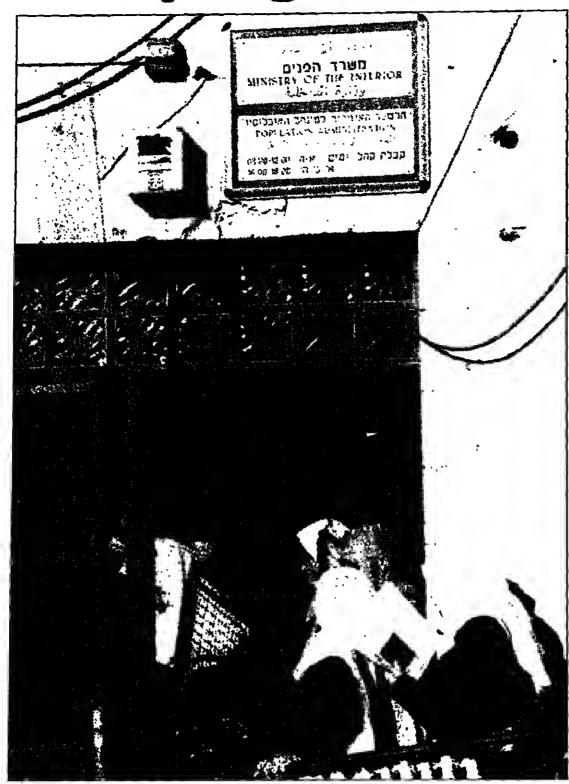
Sunday, March 31

Thursday, April 11

Tuesday, April 16

Sunday, April 21

Tuesday, April 30





Arab residents line up to apply for citizenship at the Ministry of the Interior in east Jerusalem: a translator of documents from Arabic to Hebrew types up a citizenship application outside the min-(Ariel Jerozolimski)

zenship, perhaps several dozen each year. Becoming a citizen of the Jewish state was viewed as traitorous to the Palestinian national

But in the last two years, the number of applicants has risen to between 80 and 100 a month.

This is happening on the back-drop of the Oslo peace process and it points to lack of confidence among Palestinians about the future," says Ifrah Zilberman, a researcher at Hebrew University's Truman Institute and a specialist in Jerusalem Arabs.

According to the Ministry of the Interior, in 1994 and 1995, 962 zenship, bringing the total number of those with Israeli citizenship to

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1,765, of an estimated 170,000 Arab residents of the city.

But in addition, there is a backlog of 5,000 citizenship applications from Arabs, and most of these requests are from blue-card hold-

There is tremendous overload since the Oslo accord," says Ministry spokeswoman Tova

Today it can take a year to process an application. "It's a bureaucratic problem; we are tryst to speed u cessing," Ellinson says.

"We are talking of an increase of several hundred percent. Zilberman notes, "and it is worrying the Palestinian leadership very much in closed-door discussions."

ALI, 22, was born in Silwan and now lives in Eizariya, a village just outside the city limits, now Area B. He works as a delivery man in Jewish neighborhoods

Two years ago Ali and his brother, who is 24 and works as a refrigerator serviceman, started considering applying for Israeli citizenship. But when Ali's brother asked a local sheikh, he was told that it was forbiddeo under Islamic law. The brothers dropped the idea for a while, but now Ali says they have decided to go ahead with their applications despite the religious prohibition

'I am afraid the Palestinian Authority will come and confiscate

my blue card. We won't be able to go to work. We will get a Palestinian identity card and we will need permission to enter Jerusalem. With citizenship, it will be easy to come and go."

All wants to apply now. In a month or two the PA will take over administrative control of his village. He says he and his brother will move back to live with their family in Silwan while his application is being processed.

It will also make life easier for ne city. Som to deliver newspapers and documents to schools and they won't let me in for security reasons. With citizenship, it won't be a problem."

While Ali will go ahead with his application, the religious prohibition and stigma that go with it made his uncle, Salah, drop the idea for good. "I'm secular, so the religious law doeso't bother me. But my family and my wife don't want me to," says Salah, a 33-year-old father

"I also thought it would be good for the children. But then we are afraid of the Palestinian Authority."

RAFI Sutton, a former member of the Israeli intelligence community who worked io eastern Jerusalem, likeus taking Israeli citizenship to taking out an insurance policy. "If the situation changes in

Jerusalem these people want to be on the safe side. Everything else, about added rights, are just stories." People who have little connection with the West Bank or work with Jews are more likely to consider citizenship. So too are Christian Arabs, who are concerned about the future under the Moslem-dominated Palestinian

GEORGE, a Christian Arab, has been working with Jews as a computer systems operator at the same finn since 1969.

"I didn't become an Israeli citizen because [of a] hate [for] the decided it is better to live here in Israel."

George says part of the reason be took citizenship was for his chil-dren - so that they would be able to live and work in Israel, if they choose. His oldest son is 20 and looking for work. 'If your name is David or George

it's hard to find work in a [place with a] Moslem majority. It's a natural thing and true among Jews as well. But with a Jew you can argue and he understands you better." George lives with his family

south of Jerusalem in Beit Jalla, which has recently come under PA control. He says there hasn't been any noticeable difference in day to day life, but he isn't sure if things will remain that way.

"I want to distance myself from this whole autonomy business. I don't believe in it. I don't think there is going to be a real peace,"

be says. George recalls what an Israeli

Arab friend told him aboot Palestinian independence: "I support the establishment of a Palestinian state but I'm not willing

to live there.

Zilberman, of the Truman
Institute, predicts the humber of Palestinians applying for citizenship will continue at its present rate for another year.

Then, if things go well for the PA, the numbers will drop; if thing go badly, they will increase.

"If the autocomy goes well, goes badly they'll have another

The trend is important for Israel, says Zilberman, because it strengthens as position.

The fact that around 5,000 people - or 2 to 3 percent of Palestinians in Jerusalem - want to be or are Israeli citizens, gives great legitimacy to the stand that there should be no division between East and West Jerusalem.

This trend, coupled with low voter turnout in eastern Jerusalem for the PA elections, shows that not all Palestinian residents there want complete PA control.

These people like Jerusalem the way it is: they have been exposed to the liberalism and plurality of Israeli society. This supports the position that we should not give up part of the city en bloc to the Palestinians.

"It is a significant card in future negotiations, and I only hope the government realizes this."

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The March 28, 18



Israel held to a 'higher standard'

THEN challenged to explain why a story about the killing of an Arab by an Israeli Jew commands far more media attention than news of Arabs killing Jews, journalists usually say that they bold Israel to a higher standard.

It may be flattering that stories of Jewish killers are placed in the "man bite dog" category, while murder by Arabs is taken in stride. (Although there is an undercurrent of anti-Arab racism in such a disfunction.) But a study of a terrorist incident in Jerusalem last month raises suspicions that the "higher standard" is merely a variation of the more familiar double standard.

The initial story - "Jews killed an innocent Arab" - became a sensation throughout the world. When the Arab turned out not to be an innocent victim but a terrorist wbo had deliberately killed a Jewish woman, the story virtually disappeared.

The incident took place a day after the first Jerusalem bus bombsing. A driver plowed his car into a scrowd at the French Hill bus stop sin Jerusalem, killing a woman and wounding 22 others. On exiting the car, the driver was shot dead by two armed civilians who had assumed he was a terrorist.

At first, the police announced it was a terrorist incident. Later they changed their minds, calling it an accident which ended with the sbooting of the driver.

It was only on the next day, after Ho'oretz reporters revealed that the driver, a Moslem fanatic with an American passport, had praised the suicide bus bombing and told friends he would be "seen on TV by evening," that the police reverted to the original conclusion. Findings at the scene supported this conclusion: The car was found to be in perfect order, and the testimonies of witnesses all agreed that the driver deliberately veered into the crowd and that he came oul of the car yelling "Allahu akbar."

The treatment of the stories was illuminating.

The London Times splashed the story across the whole Overseas News page. An overline read Peres blamed for bloodshed as paranoia over suicide attacks grips Jerusalem." The story headline was "Driver dies after fearful Jews fire on skidding car."

The American press treated the incident similarly. Dr. Michael Goldblatt, National Vice President of the Zionist Organization of America, made a study of the press coverage. The following is from his report:

"Most American newspapers gave prominent coverage to the initial story, portraying Israelis as trigger-happy killers, and the Arab as an innocent victim of violent Israeli recklessness. Of 15 major US daily newspapers surveyed by the ZOA, eight put the story on their front pages, and two others

MICHAEL GOLDBLATT and DAVID BAR-ILLAN placed it within the first three pages.
"But consider how those same a long Associated Press article

15 newspapers treated the next day's revelation that the incident was a case of Arab terrorism rather than Israeli hysteria: only two put it on the front page, and only two others printed it within the first three pages; nine placed the follow-up story farther back, and two failed to print it at all.

"Some American reporters in Jerusalem had plenty to say when the killing could be blamed on Israelis, but seemed tongue-tied when the Arab turned out to be a

"The discrepancy was particu-larly glaring in the Baltimore Sun, which featured the initial story on page one, under the headline Angry Mood Besets Israel,' with the subheadline: 'Arab American Driver Mistaken for Assassin, Killed After Fatal Crash,

'The Sun's correspondent in Israel, Doug Struck, blamed the shooting on 'jittery Israeli civilians' and cited the incident as proof of the 'mood of anger and pessimism [that] settled over Israel' after the terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon,

"Struck authored another frontpage story the next day - but for some reason, he chose not to mention the news that the car crash was terrorism. That fact was confined to the last four paragraphs of

way back on page 12 of the Sun. "Similarly, the Boston Globe's correspondent in Israel, Lisa Talesnick, authored n long story nbout how 'Fear Spurs a Killing in Israel.' But Talesnick was nowhere to be found when it came to the follow-up story; for that, the Globe went to the Reuters news agency, which provided an 18-paragraph story, of which only the last four paragraphs referred to the car crash attack, "Philadelphia Inquirer correspondent Alan Sipress wrote a 22-paragraph story about the first day's news ('Arab Driver's Death

the next day's Inquirer. The New York Post was equally lopsided in its coverage of the two stories. The car crash was the main front-page story, under a banner headline, 'Israel On Edge: Bomb-Weary Israelis Kill Arab-American Driver After Accident,' accompanied by a large photo-

a Sign of Tensions, the headlined blared); The Associated Press

authored the second, brief report in

graph of the Arah 'victim.'

'The connutation of the story bore the headline 'Crowd Slays Arab-American,' as if the Arab was lynched by an Israeli mob. The next day's story, bowever, was allotted just three paragraphs

most media refer to the paper without adding politically descriptive adjectives. But some call it

"the right-wing Jerusalem Post."
There is nothing wrong with describing the Post editorials as right-wing, although "hawkish," conservative" or "anti-Oslo agreement" would be more pre-

What is less acceptable is that leftist papers are never called "left-wing," but "independent" or "liberal."

It is this kind of thinking which obviously animated Teddy Kollek when last Friday he wrote "the right-wing opinions [in The Jerusolem Post] that replaced the more moderate and liberal ones deprived readers... of an accurate perspective of Israel... I am happy to read in the Post from time to time columns by people such as Abba Eban and Professor Shlomo Avineri, who do not toe the line, but on the whole these articles are a drop in tbe bucket.'

Not being a journalist or a professional researcher, Kollek may be forgiven for letting his impressions dictate unfounded statements. But to say that the Post features only occasional articles by writers on the left of the political spectrum is, to be charitable, a dis-

In the month preceding the filing of his article, that is from February 18 to March 18, 26 opinion articles by writers on the left appeared in the Post. These included Abba Eban, Susan Hattis Rolef, David Forman, Mark Heller, Larry Derfner, Allan Shapiro, Daoud Kuttab, A.B. Yehoshua, Chaim Herzog, Alouph Hareven, Misha Louvish, Gaby Sheffer and others.

This was the month, it should be noted, in which six terrorist attacks killed 62 men, women and children and wounded hundreds. It is not a time a "right-wing" paper would normally seek to balance its opinion pages by giving equal

time to doves. It is precisely because the Post wishes its readers not to he deprived of an "accurate perspective of Israel" that it balances its opinion articles so care-

fully.
Such balance is in direct contrast with the "liberal" Ha'aretz which, like the old Jerusalem Post Kollek so sorely misses, lets "right-wing" opinions appear on average once a

week, as a fig leaf. It may be a painful thought for those who believe they have a monopoly on righteousness, jus-tice and political sanity, but the fact is that at least half of all Israelis consider themselves right of center. And if any newspapers deprive their readership of an "accurate Israeli perspective" it is those which relegate rightist writers to a tokenist cor-

by DOSH

If Moses had taken a poll

IGHT FROM the beginning of Jewish national history, the Jews have been a recalcitrant and - for both good and bad - stubborn people. We see this in such epithets as "stiffenecked" (Exodus 32:9 etc.) and "crooked and perverse...wicked and unwise" (Deuteronomy 32:5-

The talmudic Sages see our stiffneckedness as sometimes being a positive trail and a major factor in our survival as a people bearing the One-God's message of a world and a life of law and purpose (Beitza 25b; Shmot Rabba 42:9).

The Torah provides the foundation for these epithets in, inter alia, its account of the Exodus and the 40-year sojourn in the wilderness. The Sages strengthen this foundation in their elaboration of

that account.
All told, it is clear that if Moses had conducted a public-opinion poll or a referendum before undertaking the mission of leading us out of Egypt to the Pron Land, we would - as the Haggada tells us - still be slaves in Egypt.

When Moses and Aaron first approach Pharaoh with God's message to "Let My people go so they may celebrate before Me" (Exodus 5:1), the Egyptian despot responds by increasing his Jewish slaves' work load. The people then call down God's judgment on the two for giving Pharaoh an excuse for worsening their lot.

Then there is the midrash on Exodus 13:18, where the Torah states that we left Egypt "hamushim." The plain meaning of this word is that we left Egypt "armed" or "equipped" for the trials that might confront us in what was originally to be a relatively short trek through the wilderness. But h-m-sh, the root of hamushim. also gives us "five," and we read the following four-way discus-

One Sage says it means that only one fifth of the Jews left with Moses. Another says, No - one fiftieth. A third says only one in 500 left. Rabbi Nehora'i, the only discussant named, has the last

"I swear by the Temple Service that not even one in 500 left." The rest died during the three days of darkness [the ninth plague], when people were unable to see each other' - all except the Jews

A VIEW FROM NOV

MOSHE KOHN

[Exodus 10:23]. A related midrash lells us that those who died were "scoundrels" who bad Egyptian patrons, enjoyed wealth and high status, and had no desire to leave. God decided to punish them, but not publicly, so as not to give the Egyptians cause to gloat. He sent the plague of darkness, during which those scoundrels died and were buried by their brethren without the Egyptians seeing and rejoicing over our disgrace.

1 Yerushalmi Shabbat 6:4: Shmot Rabba 14:1 and 20:19; Pesikto d'Rav Kahana 10; Mechilia d'Rabbi Yishmael, "Bo," 12. and "Petihta Beshallah."1

This frightening and still timely midrasb may explain why neither the Torah nor any Sage suggests that before leaving Egypt, Moses established a community council, an education bureau and an aliya department for those not ready just then to come home

Just a bit over a year after leaving Egypt, the year in which we were to enter the Promised Land. there is the episode of the 12 tribal leaders sent to scout out the

Only two, Caleb and Joshua, say we can take the Land. The report of the other 10 is accurate in its facts, but their pessimistic tone consternates the people, who demand that Moses be replaced with a leader who will take us back to Egypt (Numbers 13-14).

Fortunately, that public-opinion poll did not determine the Jewish people's destiny. It resulted in our being kept in the wilderness 40 years, so the slave generation might die out and be sucreeded by their freeborn children.

SOMETIMES POLLS do provide us with interesting and even useful information.

A Gallup poll on March 7 found that fewer than 7% of Israeli Jews felt Yasser Arafat was ahiding by his obligations under the Oslo accords. The same number believed Israel had exerted "considerable" pressure on Arafat to do so.

Even among respondents who in 1992 voted for Meretz, 71.4% said Arafat wasn't doing enough and 5.7% said he had done nothing. Only 14.3% said the government was applying "considerable" pressure on him, as compared with 8,8% for Labor and 6.3% for

More than 46% believed Arafat intends his "Palestine" to embrace of Judea/Samaria/Gaza District, and more than 41% including 11.4% of the Meretz voters - believed his ultimate aim is to embrace the area of Israel as well. The poll was sponsored by the Jerusalem-based IMRA/ Independent Media Review &

THE TANACH, especially in the books of Psalms and Job, tells us in many formulations that God's ways are beyond human ken and therefore beyond criticism by our

For some reason beyond human ken, we mediacrats have sought to arrogate to ourselves this divine privilege of immunity to review and criticism.

Fortunately, there are some iconoclasts who have shown ain and again that our erratic activity is not due to some divine myslery whose logic humanity will fathom in the Endtime, but rather usually reflects our arrogant self-image as successors to the biblical Prophets, combined with our prejudices, our desire to scandalize, and, of course, our bosses' desire to sell many more newspapers.

Among the leading media-idol smashers, along with the ahove-mentioned IMRA, is the Jerusnlem-hased Media Watch organization, which has shown the inaccuracy of our government-sponsored electronic media's pretension to giving balanced coverage and their hor denials that they usually favor government or pro-government spokesmen and positions.

In its latest monitoring operation, during February 18-22, Media Watch checked coverage by TV Channels 1 and 2 evening news magazines. Mabai and Hadashot respectively, of the Likud's slugan that "Shimon Peres will divide Jerusalem."

Mahat interviewed six government spokesmen, who occupied 58% of the time devoted to this issue, and four Likud spokesmen. Hudushot interviewed 12 government spokesmen, who took

70% of the time, and four Likud night. This is freedom?! spakesmen.

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in a long article on page seven

first story page-one news (under the headline 'Arab-American Shot

to Death in Israel'), but buried the

next day's story in five paragraphs

"A number of newspapers ran photographs of the dead Arab dri-

ver, but seemed to run out of film

when it turned out that he was a

terrorist. The New York Times,

New York Post, Philadelphio

Inquirer, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

and Rockland (NY) Journal-News

published photos of the dead Arab

terrorist on the first day - but no

photo about the story on the sec-

ond day."
And the London Times? Its read-

ers had to peruse the next day's

paper carefully to find the follow-

ing reference, which constituted the sum total of the reporting on

the incident: The future of the

peace process hung in the balance

yesterday as Israel's army Chief of Staff said more Islamic suicide

bombs were expected and police

said that n car accident [sic] on

Monday in which one Israeli was

killed and 23 were burt was an

"The right-wing Jerusalem Post"

Quoting The Jerusalem Post,

Arab terror attack."

in a different story on page six.

"Likewise, USA Today made the

about another subject.





Freedom to change

40. 5 3 E. L and all reserves to recognize the Why is this night different from all other nights?

it Hurts!

THUS begins what is probably the most famous question in Jewish tradition – the first of the proverbial four questions. Let me add four more.

First, if Pessah is our festival of freedom, what is "free" about the way we celebrate? For example, in the US, the Fourth of July is celebrated with fireworks, picnics, barbecues and parades. Contrast this with Pessah, when foods which are kosher all year become forbidden if they contain even the smallest amount of leavening. Just getting ready for this night of 'freedom' requires such stringent preparations that it turns into a mad race to finish everything in time. What's so free

In this connection, it must be noted that the word seder means "order." Even before we start the meal, the Haggada lists the 15 rabbinically-ordained divisions of the night's procedures. From the recitation of kiddush to the last songs in the Haggada, the Seder service can often take several bours, with precise laws relating to when and how much wine is to be drunk, when to wash hands, when and how much matza is to be consumed. What's more, even the length of the meal is regulated. The afikoman - the piece of matza that represents the paschal lamb - must be eaten before mid-

SHLOMO RISKIN

about turning your house upside

Second, when it comes to choos-

ing a text for the retelling of the brate and remember is not merely an Egyptian enslavement and subse- escape from Egypt; but also an quent freedom, why don't we read one of the many passages in Exodus which deal with the experience? Instead, we are commanded to skip to a passage that farmers recited when they brought their first fruit

offering to the Temple: "My ancestor was a wandering Aramean.... (Deut. 26:5) Isn't it odd that at the beginning of the Haggada, we introduce the subject of the first-fruit offering, more resonant of Shavuot, the festival related to the giving of the Torah, than of Pessah, our Festival of Freedom?

Next: Starting on the second night of Pessah we're commanded to begin counting each day for seven weeks - the cycle which concludes with the Shavuot grain offering. What's the relationship between our longed-for freedom and the counting of days?

The last of our four questions: the Haggada presents us with a prototypical family, including a wicked child. Why is it that specifically on Pessah we engage even the wicked child, and invite him to share our sacred meal?

Questions about freedom cannot be understood without first considering its flip side: slavery. The Holy Zohar, our classic mys-

tical text, connects the word Mitzrayim (Egypt) to metzarim, narrow straits. Thus what we cele-

escape from the narrow straits of existence under the yoke of the evil instinct, which prevents us from realizing our true human potential.

On this night, ancient historical experiences merge with the personal life of each Jew. Even though slavery has been outlawed in most of the world, we can become slaves in other ways: our bodies enslaved to food or drugs, our minds to TV, or to a way of looking at ourselves which cannot get over events that took place 10, 20 or 40 years ago. If someone constantly dwells on childbood traumas and perceived injustices, then his mind is enslaved to the past.

FROM THIS perspective, freedom is not so much a gift as it is a challenge. Is it any wonder, then, that so many individuals, unable to accept the responsibilities inherent in free choice, choose to let others control their lives? Totalitarianism thrives not only because of fear, but because conforming to the will of a dictator reaps certain benefits: There are no decisions to make, no personal responsibilities to answer for.

The Seder teaches us that freedom is not merely a long vacation, the ability to sleep late after staying up half the night watching a dazzling display of fireworks. True freedom involves the assumption of obligations and responsibilities.

The Seder defines and expresses what God wants us to do in this world: to enable human beings to control their minds and appetites; for us as a nation to bring the world to ethical monotheism (the final songs of Hallel Hagadol). The Seder challenges each parent to convey this ideal to his or her children. We do it within our home, just as in biblical times, when every individual (not only priests) had to be involved in his own paschal sacrifice. Every

individual must leave Egypt. Responsibility requires planting, sowing, reaping and recognizing the Source of the bounty. When a farmer gives his first fruits to the Temple, he expresses responsibility and commitment - twin fruits of the biblical understanding of freedom.

Once we understand to what extent responsibility permeates freedom, then time - and our ability to use it effectively - assumes new meaning. We start counting the days because we have to make them count. Choices cease to overwhelm us and begin to challenge us. The preciousness of each day is the abiding lesson of the Pessah Seder. Finally, freedom implies choice.

The wicked child's inclusion at the Seder is a recognition that even though a child may reject everything we believe in, freedom dictates that we allow the freedom of choice, no matter bow foolish or destructive that choice may appear in our eyes. For after all is said and done

everyone is free to changel Shabbat Shalom, and a Happy and Kosher Pessah

the slack from the politicians Let's help take up

\$36 Rabbi Yaakov Frankel, San

Francisco, CA. To help the people hurt

in Tel Aviv - Sam Helman, Silverton,

\$25 E.W. and Heleo Woodham.

\$15 Roy Asper, Winnipeg, Canada.

\$10 Debra Childress, Yadkinville, NC.

Progress

NIS 201,666.50

\$18,537.50

Totals

BEVERLEE BLACK

THILE we all welcome the democratic process
the primaries, the elections on May 29 and the hope that campaign promises will be fulfilled - past experience shows that when it is all over, a great many of our fellow citizens will have fallen through the safety net and will still be in dire need.

That's where the voluntary organizations come in, helping the disabled, the blind and the mentally handicapped or, in our case, the elderly, children in need and new immigrants.

The parties that form the next government will still be faced with the problem of how to divide up the budget pie. But what happens so often in politics - that the strongest will grab all they can and a few crumbs are go to those most in need - can hap-

pen again. As Pessah approaches, we appeal to all our friends and supporters to do something about

those who will be marking the festival, not with a juyful family Seder, but alone or in institutions and desiring a little extra.

And remember our Pessah Handicrafts Fair in Jerusalem on Monday. April 8, when we hope to raise funds for neighbors in need. Please send your donations to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000.

Donors in the US wishing to receive tax benefits can send their donations to: Friends of The Jerusalem Post Funds, 211 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017. Please designate in your letter to which fund you wish to donate.

FORSAKE ME NOT

NIS 1.963 Bible Lands Museum. NIS 324 Hai x Hai in appreciation of

our friends Jessie and Francine - with love, M.D. and K.S.

NIS 300 In loving memory of Helena Neuberg - Eva Erdelyi, Tel Avri NIS 250 Haya and Karl Reich, Ramai

NIS 200 Mrs. Sarah Holzman. Clara

and Felix Lagnado, Givatayim. NIS 180 Tessie Jerome: loving wishes on her 93rd birthday - Anon.. J'lm. NIS 120 to the name of the Bridge

Ladies, Tel Aviv. NIS 108 18 shekels from each of my great-grandchildren - Jeanne Turkel.

NIS 100 Ruth Egel, Tel Aviv. In meniory of my dear husband Arie Efroni -Betty Einoni, Haifa, Esther Lipshitz, Haifa Land D., Haifa, In memory of Louellen Twersky Wittenberg - Anon.,

NIS 50 Pepi Weiss, Tel Aviv. NIS 20 In memory of the victims of bus 18 - CEE, Harla.

NIS 18 Sylvia Weissman, co-founder of PNAI - Ida Cohen Sciavan, Rehovot, \$10 Mr and Mrs. Alonzo Gauben. Piedmont, OK

\$50 Jacqueline and Stewart Cohen. West Bloomiteld MI, Mr. and Mrs. Maryin Greenberg, Mission Viejo, CA In memory of our parents Moe and Mina Katz and Rabbi Isaac and Henrieuc Klein - Honey and Paul Kaiz, Ma'alch Aduntim. \$49.50 hi memory of the victims of

terror - Larry Zimmer, Blue Island, IL.

\$40 Janice Cerri, Mishawala, IN.

TOY FUND NIS 1.963 Bible Lands Museum,

tother currencies converted into

children Ohad, Guy and Inbal - Clara and Felix Lagnado, Givatayim, Ruth Eggl. Tet Aviv. In memory of my dear husband Arie Efroni - Betty Efroni, Haifa. NIS 200 In loving memory of my late

NtS t00 In honor of our great-grand-

husband, Mr. Ephraim Kittner - Olga Tchenkoff Kittner, Herzliva. NIS 125 in memory of my beloved husband Colin Benton - Mrs. R. Benton, J'lm.

NIS 120 To celebrate the eighth anniversary of my aliya - Elaine Kallet, J'im. \$39 Anon.

\$15 Roy Asper, Winnipeg, Canada.

Progress Totals Donations NIS 6007.51 NIS 27,655.62

(other currencies converted into sbekels)

\$16,925.69

WELCOME HOME FUND

DM 1,580 Apon.

\$54

NIS 1,963 Bible Lands Museum,

J'lm. NIS 100 Clara and Felix Lagnado, Givatayim. In memory of my dear husband Arie Efroni - Berty Efroni, Huifa. Ruth Egel, Tel Aviv.

NIS 20 In memory of the victims of Bus 18 - CEE, Haifa, \$15 Roy Asper, Winnipeg, Munitoba.

\$9,234

New **Progress** Totals Donations NIS 8,577.67 NIS 2283

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NIS 300 Lotte, Sandra and Michael, Naomi, David, Daniel, Joshua Herz, Ra'anana

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Emergency Appeal: New Donations: NIS 1667.98 Total NIS 112,278,76

(All donations converted into shekels)

ON SUNDAY - OUTLOOK DAY IN THE JERUSALEM POST



DON'T MISS:

American Outlook: comments by Alan Dershowitz, Martin Peretz, Evans and Novak and other leading American columnists: and favorite comics: Peanuts, B.C., Feiffer, Calvin

and Hobbes, DON'T MISS IT!

THE Hoogevens annual chess festival at Wijk aan Zee is one of Europe's

largest chess tournaments. This year more than 1,500 players con-

verged on the small seaside resort near Amsterdam, to take part in

the two grand-master events, the

reserve master group or, for the

eager amateurs, the scores of round-robins. The tournament has

been sponsored by the Dutch steel

Pea soup and black bread are

served at the closing banquet.

This dates back to the end of

World War II when the open ban-

quet's pea soup brought local res-

idents welcome relief from the prevalent food shortages. The tradition has been honored ever

Though Alexei Shirov and Boris

Gelfand finished well down the

rable in the top Category 17 tour-

nament, they produced one of the

Shirov, Alexei - Gelfand, Boris

Wijk aan Zee 1996

Sicilian Defense, Najdorf

Variation

1.e4 c5 2.Nf3 d6 3.d4 cm4

4.Nxd4 Nf6 5.Nc3 a6 6.Be3 e6

1.24 e5. Despite losing a tempo

by moving the e pawn on two suc-

cessive moves, this is still consid-

ered the most aggressive line of

play as it virtually forces White to

8.Nf5 g6 9.g5 gxf5 10.exf5!

Few club players would have hes-

itated to recapture the piece. But if

Black now retreats the knight to

d7. White can unleash a multitude

of nasty threats after 11.Qh5

most exciting games.

sacrifice material.

Hoogovens for 58 years.

aluminum company

Dutch treat

MATTHEW GRANOVETTER

South dealer Both sides vulnerable

> North (Yanir) ♥Q [07

♣AQ9764

± 10 8 7 2 ♦9643 **♥**9652 ♦Q107 ♠K5 ♣ 1032 South (Katz)

West North East South 3 4 pass pass 3 NT pass pass (all pass) 4 NT

Opening lead: #2

HE principality of Monaco, where Grace Kelly played opposite Cary Grant in the Monte Carlo serting of Alfred Hitchcock's To Catch a Thief (before she mairied Monaco's Prince Rainier), was the site of the fourth European mixed teams championships last week.

Most card players can usually be found at the blackjack and chemin-de-fer tables of the Royale Casino, but last week the serious card players were at the bridge tables. The mixed-team event was won by the French team of Veronique Bessis. Catherine Saul, Michel Bessis and Paul Chemla. They defeated a German team 73 to 55.

In the second event, a mixed pairs, Austria's Maria Erhart and Fritz Kubak took first place, fol-lowed by Poland's Wieslawa Tomaszewska and Mariusz Puczynski. The highest-ranked Israeli pair in the mixed pairs was Tel Aviv's Moshe Katz and Ziva Yanir, who finished 11th. Katz showed his experience on this deal from the team championship earlier in the week. He opened one club on the South hand and Yanir.

North, responded one diamond.

Katz, jump rehid to three, clubs
and over his partner's three spades bid three notrump. Now Yanir made a move toward slam

ACROSS

6 City men's car—the new model (10)

8 Iron about four or later (4)

9 The object of a fling at the

13 Date some horological

16 Allude to the speaker's

17 One's restricted by a lack of

20 Alarm the female listener

21 Creature getting a look-in about mid-January (3-6)

18 Turkish furniture (7)

11 Port in the bottle (4) 12 Shelter where the French

point (3)

work (9)

view (4)

flavour (7)

with her four-club call. At this point Katz, with no aces outside of clubs, bid four notrump. It wasn't clear whether he meant this as ace asking or as an attempt to play four notrump, but Yanir responded five hearts to show her two aces and Katz bid the slam in

THE REALLY big error in the auction, bowever, was on East's part. He failed to take advantage of the five-heart call on his right. He could have doubled this bid to let his partner know he held strength in hearts. As you can see, a heart opening lead would defeat the small slam, because East takes his ace and West must come to a trump trick.

But when East failed to-double five hearts, West, Sandra Penfold of England, assumed that he preferred another suit. She led a spade and now the ball was in Katz's court.

He won the king of spades, led a diamond to the ace and played three top spades, discarding three hearts from his hand. Next he led the queen of hearts from dummy. East covered with the ace and Katz ruffed, setting up dulmmy's ten. But how would be reach dummy to cash that ten?

One idea was to lead a low club toward the jack and bope that West had started with the king of clubs. If West ducked the club lead without hesitation, declarer could change his plan and put in the eight of clubs in an attempt to finesse West for the ten. In practice, however, West would probably have won her king of clubs and the jack would be the useful

entry to the heart ten.

Nevertheless, Katz decided to lead the queen of clubs instead of a low one. His experience told him that most defenders would not be able to resist winning the king of trumps and this was the case. West captured the queen with her king, but now the jack was the entry to dummy.
Had Penfold ducked the queen

of clubs, she admitted afterward, she would have defeated Katz in his slam. The ace of clubs would take the next trick, capturing the king, hut East's ten of cluhs would now be high and eventually the defense would come to a diamond

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD

note (4)

25 Bedclothes (9)

29 Dash for the bar (4)

to real estate (4)

2 Cliff damage (4)

neat ship (7)

3 The

sage (4)

23 Letters for the queen

24 He built an earthwork of

30 An opportunist with taking ways (5,5)

DOWN

1 Having money in addition

The man backing rail-transport could be

4 There's a number in the

5 Work extra hard on account of the family (10)

taking a long time (3)



PASTIMES

A vast array of lovely tulips are in bloom this time of the year.

Tiptoe through the tulips

IGHT now there is such a proliferation of wildflow-ers in almost every locality that one cannot even begin to encompass them in a short article: indeed it would take a whole botany book. Fortunately for our English readers there is a handy spiral bound book that shows 300 Israeli wildflowers, each with a color photograph, and it gives not only a brief description including where to find a particular flower but it lists the English, Hebrew and Latin name in every case. It's 300 Israeli Wildflowers by Azaria Alon and it's availablein English or Hehrew. It is highly recommended for anyone who wants to know more about wildflowers.

Despite the abundance of flowers during these spring months, there are, even so, a few that deserve special mention. Now that the hright red anemones or wind flowers (kalanit in Hebrew) are disappearing they are being replaced by the only bright-red

7 Outstanding leftist—a character (3-6)

8 Challenge ministers'

10 Getting to the Orient on

13 The novice needs caring

support (10)
14 3 bolds "fixed" races, the

15 Countrymen split about

19 Tourist centre with more

22 An organisation the West

27 A nymph among the chosen few (4)

28 Dance with staggering

26 Get Kate to reform (4)

flannel (4-5)

foot (3)

rogue! (9)

hard game (9)

zest to it? (7)

browbeat (3)

outcome (4)

NATURE D'VORA BEN SHAUL

buttercup, the turban buttercup. sometimes called the Asian buttercup. In Latin, this flower with very glossy petals is Ramuncidus asiations, in Hebrew it's nurst asia, and it is found all the way from the North to the Negev hills.

And then, there are the rulips. The most striking is the mountain tulip, Tulipa agenensis, known in Hebrew as tsivonit heharim. It grows in all the hilly areas of near the coast and has one very large red flower with a touch of yellow at its base. Like all tulips, it is a member of the filly family.

Another tulip of note is the desert utlip. Tulipa systola, called tsivonit hamidbur in Hebrew. This tulip, is smaller than the hill tulio but has a bright red flower, and is found in the Judean desert and the northern Negev. In years when there is enough rain, this lovely

INTRODUCINE

INSPIRED BY AN ERR

& HELIDARY STYLE

soms in an arid place.

Less often seen, and certainly in Hebrew tsivonit hahermon.

enjoy to the fullest.

So now is the time: pack a picnic, take a guide book and let the whole family enjoy what is probathe year no matter where in Israel you happen to live.

rulip creates carpets of red blos-

less well known, is the pink Mount Hermon tulip, a flower found only on the Hermon and in a few places in Lebanon. It is related to the rulips that grow in the Negev. Its petals are a strong pink, it is not as large as hill tulips or desen tulips and its leaves are straight rather than undulating, as are the leaves of the other species. In Latin it is called Tulipa lowner,

These are just a few of the wildflower treasures to be seen from now to the end of April and, in the case of the Mount Hermon tulip, in May. They are worth looking for and a pleasure to view. All are strictly protected.

But these few outstanding species barely touch the wealth of wildflowers to be enjoyed at this season and it's a pleasure that anyone with a wildflower guide book and a few hours to spend can

10_d5 11.gxf6 d4 12.Bc4! Qxf6 13.Nd5 Qc6 14.Bxd4! Bb4+! Gelfand makes some breathing space for his cramped king. 14...exd4 is weak on account of)5.Qxd4 and 14...Qxc4 is no better because of 15.Nf6+ Ke7 16.Bxe5. 15.c3 Qxc4

DIAGRAM 1 after Black's 15th move

16.Be3!The best chess moves are not necessarily the most swashhuckling. Here Shirov elects for the quiet retreat, realizing that after 16.Nb6 Qxd4 17.Oxd4 exd4 18.cxb4 Bxf51. Nxg3+ 19.Nxa8 Nd7, Black has compen-

NICK KOPALOFF sation for the exchange. 16. Ba5 17.Nf6+ Ke7 18.Nd5+ Ke8 19.Nf6+ Ke7 20.Bg5! Bc7

21.Ne4+?! Qd5!! would have

21. Ne4+?! Qub:
been the better choice.
21. Ke8 22.Qg4! h5 23.Nf6+
Ke7 24.0-0-0?! Qxg4 25.Nxg4+
Kf8 26.Bh6+ Ke7 27.Bg5+ Kf8 28.Bd8! Bxf5 29.Bxc7 Nc6? 30.Nh6!! Bg6 31.Rd6 Nb4! 32.cxb4 Kg7! 33.b4 Rhc8 34.h5! Rxc7+ 35.Kd2 He4 36.Rg1+ Kh1 37.Ke3 Bb7 38.Rgd1 Re8 39.NIS. Shirov was well aware that 39.Ng4 was the better move but as his opponent was in chronic time trouble, Shirov laid the

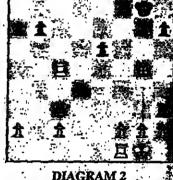
trap.
39_Bc8? Rc4 might have led to a draw since 40 Rd8 would be answered by 40...Re4+, and 40.f3 by Rf4+

40.Rd8 Bxf5 41.Rxe8+ Kg7 42.Rxe5 1-0

HERZLIYA'S Purim Chess Tournament in memory of the late IDF pilot Lt. Damy Glazer attracted 23 participants. Idan Levy and Niv Einhorn shared first place, scoring six points from their seven games.

The tournament was rounded off by Dov Zifroni's simultaneous display against 25 opponents. The international master won 23 and drew two. The event was directed the youthful Shlomo Kendelstein.

THE solution to this week's problem was described by the British Chess magazine as "the most beautiful sacrifice in history." Playing the Black pieces against Levitsky, the great Frank Marshall dumbfounded the chess world with a breathtaking winning combination. Black to play and win.



Solution: 1. Qg3!! Although threatening mate on h2, the quech is sent to what seems her most illogical square since she is offered up for capture to any offer of three opposing pieces. Blue nonetheless succeeds in complete ly splitting open the White

2.fxg3, 2.hxg3 loses immediately to 2. Ne2++, while 2.Qxg3 leaves White at least a piece in

2...Ne2+ 3.Kh1 Rxf1++











Bath

Sec.

SE PARTY OF

SPAEL!

Learn how to take care of plants – and enjoy the results

reader recently wrote me the following letter, and it Lis worth devoting this column to the subject.

"I planted some trees in my yard when I moved in five years ago. They seem to be growing very slowly. I put in a lot of liquid fertilizer and the grass grew very nice and green and thick all around the trees, but the trees did not improve.

"Is the fertilizer getting down to the tree roots? Puddles of water are collecting in the grass around the trees when it rains or when I water the garden. Will this hurt the trees? Should I put some deep holes next to the trees and put fer-tilizer in there? What's wrong with my trees?"

Tree roots do not grow in a mirror image of the branches of the trees. They grow wide and shallow - if you have ever seen a tree which was blown over in a storm, you will recall this. In fact, some especially shallow-rooted trees may have most of their roots no

deeper than 35 centimeters down. Watering and fertilizing deeper is a waste, and in fact may be barmful, causing the fertilizer to ON MONDAY - NYT DAY IN

INEZ KLIMIST

leach down into the groundwater supplies. If your trees are not growing, they are not using the available fertilizer anyway.

Fertilizer is not food or energy by itself, and doesn't cause growth. It supplies essential nutrients, so when a plant begins to produce new cells (growth), those cells can get the minerals they need for balanced growth.

Enough nutrients exist in most soils to support at least some growth. Fertilizer supplements the natural growth processes.

A plant will grow when it produces more energy than it needs to keep its existing leaves, branches and roots alive - much as people will begin to gain weight when they eat more food than they need to stay alive.

This is obviously more desirable in plants than in people. Plant-growth energy comes only from photosynthesis - the energy which comes from the production of sugars from a balance of sunlight, water and air.

Your plants may be struggling just to maintain life, because they

THE JERUSALEM POST

DON'T MISS:

Eight pages from The New York Times Weekly

Review. Stories, reports, comments, analyses

and opinions by some of the world's best known

journalists.

DON'T MISS IT!

they once had a balance of roots and leaves, hut now may be hardpressed to supply enough water for the manufacture of sugars for growth.

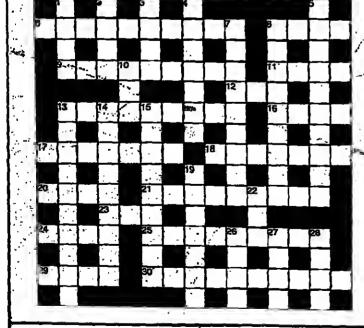
Death of root systems is caused by various ills. Too much watering in an area of insufficient runoff may prevent the roots from absorbing oxygen and literally drown the roots, just exactly the way you can kill a potted plant by overwatering.

Sometimes, nematodes, moles, insects, or a virus may attack roots of even an established plant and kill or stunt the roots so that the plant stops growing, turns yellow, stops blooming, or even dies entirely over time.

If you want a tree, or other plant, to put out more top growth, make the environment around the roots more conducive to bealthy growth. Loosen the soil around the roots.

Don't get rid of the soil. Instead, enrich it with organic material. such as compost, which will improve not only the supply of nutrients, but also drainage and aeration. If you need better drainage, add sand and some gravel to the existing soil mix. In a worse case, you may want to dig out the tree, if it's not too large, and re-set it in a raised bed. Although digging it up may damage some of the roots, if it's done carefully the benefits will outdo the harm.

While the root system is struggling to re-establish itself, help the plant along by judicious pruning. Remember that if the roots have a smaller area to support, they have a better chance to revive. If you prune, you will soon be rewarded by new, healthier and more abundant growth.

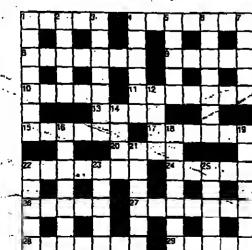


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WELLEDUP MALAWI
E I I N C K

Yesterday's Quick Solution ACROSS: I Pastor, 4 Weigh, 8 Obese, 9 Kingdom, 10 Typical, 11 Axie, 12 Let, 14 Less, 15 Rich, 12 Tea, 51 Apez, 23 Censure, 25 Stimuli, 28 Frail, 27 Lithe, 28

DOWN: 1 Pronto, 2 Steepte, 3 Overcest, 4 Wane, 5 Index, 6 Hamper, 7 Skill, 13 Transfix, 16 Courage, 17 Damsel, 19 Acrid, 20 Zealot, 22 Evict, 24 Ruse.



QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS I Wrench (5) 4 Homily (7)

8 Reigning (7) 9 Licit (5) 10 Frequently (5)

11 Oriental (7) 13 Consumes (4) 15 Ale-house (6) 17 Struggie (6)

20 Norse god (4) 22 Riches (7) 24 AVET (5) 26 Shun (5) 27 Fish-tanks (7)

28 Applauded (7)

29 Close-packed (5)

DOWN 1 Series of exercises 2 Rowing crew (51 3 Coach (7) 4 Start (6) 5 Book of maps (5) 6 Entrance (71 7 Synthetic fibre (5) 12 Sparkling wine (4) 14 Soon (4)

16 Wordy (7) 18 Defective (7) 19 Raise (7) 21 Claim (6) 22 French currency

25 Protective wear (5)

23 Beneath (5)

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Rome's piazzas: A slice of Italian life

CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS

WICE I'd been here. Each time, I came, saw, inspected the Sistine, assessed the Colosseum, entered and ogled the Pantheon and Forum. If it was winter, I bought roasted chestnuts and was reminded that the idea of roasted chestnuts far exceeds the

If it was summer, I ordered Italian ice cream, the reality of which cannot be exceeded. Then it was back to the churches and land-

But eventually, peering up at one more clock tower or squinting at yet another fresco, a stranger in Rome crosses a threshold.

Suddenly, the most important thing in the Eternal City is not to find where Julius Caesar was stabbed, or name the father of Romulus and Remus, but finding a place to sit still, to rest sore feet. to sip something, to read something, to eavesdrop, to disappear in the sbade.

That's what piazzas are for, and Rome must hold more of them than any other city. The smallest of these city squares amount to little more than a confluence of streets, a few parking spaces, a nameplate on a wall, a child chasing a stray soccer ball. The greatest of them dominate a city that once dominated Europe. Yet on both of those previous visits, I passed time in only the most obvious of Rome's hundreds of piaz-

Then the chance to visit Italy arose in June, and I set myself a goal; to search out and soak up a few choice and underappreciated piazzas - places where actual residents of Rome might be found pursuing daily routines, places less celebrated and less trampled than the Piazza Navona, the Piazza San Pietro and other leading tourist stops.

I would look for theaters of

frowning at their newspapers, baggliog over produce, casting furtive (and not so furtive) glances at the opposite sex, oarrowly averting motor-scooter collisions, hanging out their wash, hollering at each other from second-story windows. I would permit these piazzas to handle a fair amount of tourist trade, but I hoped it would have more to do with tomatoes or antiques than with Iron Maiden souvenir towels, such as those I passed in the Piazza Navona.

For my base of operations, I chose the Hotel di Teatro Pompeo, four long blocks south of the Piazza Navona (and built upon the ruins of the theater in wbich Julius Caesar was stabbed to death).

Around the corner lay the Campo de' Fiori, where I spent parts of every day I had in Rome. The rectangle is surrounded by restaurants and shops, and the scene teemed with local people fondling local products. Three flower stalls. One seller had arranged 12 kinds of olive oil.

Another stacked baskets of peppers, oregano, mushrooms, bananas, watermelon and asparagus. On market days they set up about 6 a.m. and start packing up at 1:15 p.m. By 2 p.m., the marketplace bas vanished and the restaurants have doubled the size of their sidewalk dining areas.

The stores and restaurants included Ristorante Om Shanu, an affordable place for snacking at an outdoor table and watching the world go by; The Drunken Ship, a young people's har with post-modern stainless steel furniture and an international clientele, and a high-end butcher and deli shop called Il Fiorentino. with old mosaics on its walls and yuppie customers elbow to elbow.

TO reach the Piazza Borghese, human behavior, for Romans you begin at the foot of the



Piazza Navona is one of Rome's many small city squares.

Spanish Steps, aim southwest and stroll the length of Via Condotti and continue as the street name changes to Via Fontanella Borchese.

There won't be much reward for you if you make this journey in the late afternoon or evening: You'll probably find a newsstand,

a hunch of parked cars and about 15 locked-np, dismal-looking gray metal stalls.

But if you arrive between about a.m. and 1 p.m. on any day but Sunday, those stalls will be open and hulging with rare books, old prints and anoques. Bronze busts. Century-old maps. Dusty old leather-bound books.

A few shops surrounding the piazza display soll more antiques and various other specialty items. Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere (which translates as "across the Tiber") was one of the city's poorest slums in the 19th century, and even now a wrong (Christopher Reynolds/Los Angeles Times)

turn can leave you in a marginal neighborhood. But in recent years, restaurants and bars have been; breeding in the narrow streets, and here and there Trastevere can remind you of Paris's Left Bank, with lower rents.

There are still no botels handy, hut if you're near the Piazza

Book now to capture Olympic glory

HAIM SHAPIRO

Navona or Campo de' Fiori, it's oo great exertion to walk cross the Tiber on the all-pedestrian Sisto bridge (if you cross by night, pause halfway and look for the distant spotlighted dome of St. Peter's), make your way down narrow Vicolo dei Cinque, and turn left at the smallish Piazza di San Egidio.

If you do this by day, as I did on my first visit to the neighborhood, you pass many locked-up doors - bars and restaurants that will be opening later and filling with local and international students, twenty-somethings and others. (Rome's only English-language movie theater is also in the neighborhood.) But even in the slow hours, the alleys will probably be full of naughty children, flying soccer balls, laundry flap-ping in the breeze, and bent old ladies sitting along the sidewalk in splintered old chairs. At the center of all this lies the Piazza Santa Maria in Trastevere.

On one side, dominating the piazza, stands the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, fronted by sturdy columns, topped hy a startling mosaic of a dozen figures against a field of gold.

Art historians say the mosaic, seven or eight centuries old, is a rare surviving example of what many medieval churches looked like before architectural fashions changed. Inside, there is more striking mosaic work, and even more gold.

Around the piazza's periphery stand two restaurants and the more casual Caffe di Marzio. where I spent an hour of my daytime visit nursing an orange juice and people-watching.

When I came back on a Saturday night, the cafe and restaurants were packed, and the whole piazza was vibrant with the sound of strolling guitarists, the cascading fountain and the din from the hars and restaurants down the street.

(Los Angeles Times)



Prof. Roberto Nardi tells a member of his team how to restore this bathhouse fresco. (David Greeuspan)

Bathhouse restoration: Masada's new attraction

TATIONAL sites used to be closed to the public while they were being restored, but these days the restoration work itself has become part of the attrac-

That's the case with the hathhouse on Masada - one of the most popular places at the country's most popular tourist site.

"We want the public and especially the tour guides to understand what we are doing and why we are doing it," says Professor Roberto Nardi, director of the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica (CCA), the Rome-based company contracted by the National Parks Authority to carry out conservation and restoration work at Masada with the Negev Tourism Administration.

According to National Parks Authority spokesman Ofer Grinstein, Masada receives about 2 imillion visitors a year. And Nardi says that about 3,000 people come to see the ancient bathhouse, originally built by Herod for his guests, every day. From now through June, they will also see the restorers at

During Pessah, thousands of work tourists are expected to visit the site. When they enter the courtyard of the bathhouse, the first thing they are likely to notice is a giant poster, a photograph of a Canadian forest at sunset, bearing the notice, "Just discovered." The poster is, of course, a joke.

-. We chose it because it is the thing most removed from the culHAIM SHAPIRO

tural context of the place that we could think of. We want people to enter with smiles on their faces." Nardi says.

The poster also serves to cover the metal wall of the on-site headquarters of Nardi and his international team of 10 experts. The team includes members from Spain. France and Turkey, as well as Italy. Nardi has also included four Israelis, employees at Masada, who will remain and ensure that the huilding is properly maintained.

Nardi has some experience in Israel. Two years ago he was called in to restore the massive Nile mosaic at Sepphoris. That was the first time, he says, that an on-site restoration was conducted without removing the tiles and using traditional materials to replace the foun-

IN THE bathhouse at Masada, this same technique is being used for a simple geometric mosaic in the courtyard. A thin layer of cheesecloth has been glued to the tiles, keeping them in place. Nardi says he would be happy to see Israelis use his techniques to restore other buildings on Masada.

Visitors can see the techniques used by the restorers. Through a perspex window, they can watch Romana Albini of Rome painsiakingly restore a fresco on the bathhouse wall. In the next room, they can see Vincenzo Orru, also from

Rome, Jelal Kucue of Istanbul and Enimanuel Caille of Paris all working on the inner walls.

Pointing to Kucuc, who is using a large syringe to insert mortar between the building stones, Nardi says the mortar is similar to that used in the original construction.

"We want to restore the structure as it was, not huild a new, stronger building," he says. He adds that concrete was used in reconstruction work carried out 30 years ago, folhowing the massive excavations on Masada. Over the years, it was found that the concrete had a deleterious effect.

Nardi says he uses low-tech procedures in the restoration, combined with high tech in planning and compiling information. The dust at Masada precludes the use of computers on-site, but they are unlized to draw up work schedules and to record thousands of work-inprogress details and photos. Two on-site archeologists are

producing a large-scale (1:20) drawing of the building, including every single stone and every trace of work on the stones. The drawings will serve as historic documents to be used in the future, Nardi says.

In the work on the building, the restorers take care not to take any drustic steps that cannot be undone. Nardi says he is guided by the realization that the techniques of today may be viewed as mistakes tomor-

"Never do anything you can't undo." he says.

who wants to attend the Olympic Games in Atlanta this summer, time is running short. El Al is planning a series of direct flights for the games and Ophir Tours has a special department with a stock of room reservations and tickets to various events.

ULY may seem like a long

time away, but for anyone

One original option for a truly southern experience is to stay oo a riverboat, the Mississippi Queen, represented in Israel by Med Cruises. In stay starts at \$546 per person. Another option is a room in a

private home. Paula Gris of Bed and Breakfast Atlanta says that she has accommodadons to suit every taste and budget. For information tel. 001-404-875-0525; or fax 001-404-875-9672.

THESE DAYS Walt Disney World is not just a matter of baving fun. Visitorsof 10 and up oow bave the option of attending the culinary arts, animation, or lifestyle, along with some of the more traditional Disney-type entertainment. A three-night family package at the institute sold by AREI Travel Wholesalers starts at \$516 each for two adults and \$212. each for two children.

BTC TRAVEL and Tours, a Jerusalem agency which usually. specializes in travel for students and young people is organizing a

to Cairo and by train in Egypt.

MAP LTD. has come out with a new road atlas which includes scenic routes and sites, as well as areas now under Palestinian antonomy. The atlas, in Hebrew or English, comes to two sizes and sells for NIS 64 or NIS 79.

A GOLFING vacation in Turkey, at the Attaleia Club Hotel in Belek, north of Antalya, is being offered by Clai Aviation. Prices, seven-night Pessah tour of Egypt including air fare, start at \$320 for with accommodation in five-star a three-night weekend and \$315 botels for \$499. Travel is by bus for a fonr-night midweek stay.

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FEATURES Beauty kings vie for success, travel and world peace

MICHAL YUDELMAN

THE last nights of primaries -Labor on Monday, the Likud, Tuesday - reminded many people of beauty-pageant parodies rather than political events. Yediot Aharonot's columnist Nahum Barnea called the candidates "the beauty kings."

The events looked so similar it raised questions of how voters were supposed to spot the differences. Both teams paraded in halls awash in hlue-andwhite posters and peace slogans. The same improvised TV studios ran the same broadcast marathons through the

The candidates, from ministerial down to conentity level, were interviewed constop and analyzed hy the same babhling pundits. Viewers were left blearyeyed by miles of "home movie" footage - video clips of the contenders' private lives, childhood years and families.

Any elemeots of surprise, which should bave provided the climax to each pageant, in each case came too late. It was already morning before the dark horses who surged to the front of the field became visible oear the finishing line - Uzi Baram in Labor and Yitzhak Mordecbai in the Likud.

CYBER-FLOP

THE high-tech computer system was billed by the Likud as the star of its primaries. But then, like Apollo 13 in the week's competing Oscar extravaganza, it failed to deliver. All day Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu extolled the "new era" heralded by his party, and how "the methods of tomorrow" would sweep aside the pens and paper of yesterday's

The Likud's primary results were sup-posed to zoom off the voting superhighway at midnight, just two hours after

Bibi revealed that even his mother had been excited by the wonders of high tecb and taken to the computer, thanks to the influence of the Likud's 21st-century voting system. In a lightning visit to Jordan the same day for discussions with



The unusually stormy weather that swept through the country this week was an apt backdrop for the whirlwind primary elections.

Crown Prioce Hassan, Bibi did not forget to slip in a mention of the Likud's futuristic vision.

Alas, those waiting up for the magic download were still waiting at 1 a.m. Bibi, politicians, and pundits had to continue basing their comments on those nickety old TV polls of the hygone age.

As with Labor, the preliminary results came in the next morning, showing up glaring inaccuracies in the polls, and rendering reams of premature newspaper analyses irrelevant by the time they anded on readers' doormats.

The silicon brains of Deep Blue recently rattled Garry Kasparov over the chessboard, yet here was its cousin failing to count a few Likud voters in time? Of, course it had to he the fault of those two old Israeli scapegoats of yes-

teryear - the rain and Bezeq. But the accusation that soggy Bezeq lines ate the data transmissions to the great nerve center didn't hold water, as it later transpired that Bezeq's lines had worked perfectly. The delay was caused by the Likud's administrative chaos.

So whose vision of the new Middle East era is Deep Blue hacking?

OOPS! WRONG IMMIGRANT LABORITES were ecstatic over an unexpected breakthrough - the first Ethiopian Knesset candidate, Adisu Massala, vaulted over two rivals for a new-immigrant slot to land on number 29 in the list.

This slot had been reserved for a representative of new immigrants in the Natan Sharansky's "Russian" party. It slowly dawned on party leaders that while Massala was due all credit for his achievement, it was going to be difficult to pass him off as Labor's Russian -

whatever angle they photographed him.

Embarrassing; what Americans call ...

"a situation." Party tacticians put their heads together and came up with an adjustment. Take one other new immigrant - Ronen Flout. number 46 - and upgrade him to a real-

MY KINGDOM FOR A MOROCCAN IF Labor planners thought the ethnic issue could be buried in the past, they

The pundits soon pointed out another

THE CASUALTIES THE morning after the party, as balloons and bravado quietly deflated, it was noticed that democracy's rampage had left some wounded warriors in the field. They were the ones who went to bed as Knesset members, and woke up not.

Some had spent their savings on the primaries and woke up unemployed. Others who gave their lives to the party as loyal MKs and ministers just couldn't make it with the voters any more. On the Likud side, there were the casualties of the Likud-Tsomet-Gesher deal.

Both Likud and Labor leaders realized something must be done about the "injured," to prevent a rift in either party. Labor Party secretary general Zvilli planned a round of talks with them. Bibi said they "would remain a

part of us." But in a few days it is doubtful whether they will be remembered. Winner takes it all, that's the name of the game in politics.

WHEELERS AND DEALERS WHILE public democracy ran riot in both camps, behind the scenes there were dark mutterings of dirty deals and horse-trading, and even allegations of

bribery and corruption.

In Labor, plots against poll-darling
Haim Ramon allegedly confined him to fifth slot and prevented him from finishing in first place or - more importantly -

ahead of newcomer Ehud Barak. In the Likud, the infamous deals ma between rival camps pushed Berny Begin and Dan Meridor down from the top of the list, where the polls had pedicted them to land. But all the deal-mongers could have taken lessons from David Levy and his people in the stillborn Gesher, who concocted the "mother of all deals." This one worked to per-fection, too, not partially like the Likid

HE WIN

-4:35

my no thinks

TOTA FORM

and Labor deals: Anyone who wasn't part of this deal like Aharon Abahatzeira, was out. All those who were in on it got elected! These are the six lucky guys whom Lety will be taking with him into safe Kness

The fact is, Labor's final list includes Arab woman social worker in line for Labor Knesset seat

GREER FAY CASHMAN

TER hurning amhition, Nadia Hilou said a month Lago at a reception hosted hy the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women, was to be the first Arab woman MK. It looks as if the 37-year-old activist from Jaffa, with a master's degree in social work and a finger in many other pies, will bave fier wish come true. She earned slot No. 37 on the Labor Party candidate list.

AND FOR Taiba Mayor Rafik Haj Yihye, who also emerged from the Labor primaries as a potential M.K., there is yet another reason to be merry. The Taiba soccer team is about to be accepted in the National League. These two accomplishments will do much to improve Taiha's image.

IT'S EXCUSABLE that the Betar Jerusalem soccer team ploys at Teddy Stadium; but it's somehow insulting to former mayor Teddy Kollek's own political affiliation that the site was the main Jerusalem polling station for the Likud primaries. That was already hitting below the belt.

HE USED to look like a sultry cross between Boy George and the late Freddie Mercury; hut as of last week, superstar Aviv Gefen looks anything hut. His dark tresses have been subjected to the bottle, and Gefen is now a platinum hlond. Meanwhile, Tovele is busy designing wed-

ding dresses from which Gefen's fiancee Ilana Berkovitch will make a final choice. Although the couple have said they will marry in the summer, a date has not been announced.

"IT'S VERY pleasant to be 96, and I recommend it to all of you," sprightly nonagenarian Leah Globe said last week at a birthday kiddush hosted by her daughter and son-in-law Rena and Emanuel Quint. Clear-minded, hawk-eyed, straight-backed and totally independent Globe, wbose and painting, is the only woman published by Soncino. With a new book coming out, she is the oldest writer currently being published by Aronson. Also a fine haker, she insisted on making her own birthday cake for which she used 38 eggs and an abstract floral landscape frosting.

ELECTION FEVER is not the only cause for excitement in the home of Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and his wife, Nava. No matter which party wins, the Baraks have a good reason for some new glad rags. Daoghter Michal is planning a May wedding to law student Ziv Lautenberg.

FINANCE MINISTER Avraham Shohat was in a bind on the eve of the primaries. If he didn't sign an order for a price hike on eggs,

UTUE

American actress Veronica Hamell brightens the day of Dana Mamshon, a victim of a recent Jerusalem bus bombing.

he would have the poultry farmers against him. If he did sign the order, be would bave all the housewives preparing for Pessah against him. But Shohat's heart was with the farmers, so he signed, and still managed to do well at the polls.

WHEN HE was living in Russia. his celebrity status was of the negative variety. But former refusenik Natan (Anatoly) Sharansky now

has a new celebrity status with the folks back home. Not only do they regard him in the light of local boy makes good, but according to Dimitri Prokofiev, Israel Radio's man in Moscow, Sharansky's Yisrael Ba'aliya party is perceived in some Russian media reports as the halancing act between Labor and Likud. As for the once suppressed and oppressed Sharansky, he was granted an hour-loog interview oo

Russian television and the print media are running page-long stories on him.

INCIDENTALLY, on the night of the Likud primaries, Sharansky and his wife Avital took time out for themselves and dined at Rungsit, Jerusalem's popular Japanese-Thai restaurant. Also eating Thai food that night was prizewinning broadcaster Sheila Zucker, who, due to intolerable

agement, has just quit her program on Jerusalem's regional radio station. Zucker, who was dining with friends and colleagues, said she had so many. other offers to consider that she bad no time for regrets, WHILE TELEVISION cameras

limitations placed on her by man-

not enough candidates of Sephardi ori-

Not only not enough Sephardim said

the nudniks, but where are bona-fide

Moroccans, and don't cite Fuad Ben-

Eliezer (Iraq) and Nissim Zvilli

It was a case of pass the headache pills

as the media went on about the Likud

ticket's David Levy and David Magen.

compared to Labor's Shimon Shetreet

and Eli Dayan, who might not even

So began a desperate search for the

token Moroccan. Prof. Shlomo Ben-

Ami, who everyone agreed would make

any Knesset faction proud, will forever

be considered as having gotten in hy

virtue of being Moroccan.

make it to a winnable Knesset place.

gin in the first 10 places.

(Tunisia)?

on Monday focused on the Labor at Tira at Kibbutz Ga'ash where they attended the wedding of actor/filmmaker and television. personality Yehuda Barkan, wbo came suitably attired for the occasion in black bow-tie, wing-collared white shirt, natty white jacket with black handkerchief in the breast pocket, and black trousers. Ilana Balisha, his bride and longtime companion, caused a minor sensation when her veil caught fire, but fortunately there was no serious damage. Barkan, who was recently hospitalized for heart trouble, is the star of the new stage production of Zorba the Greek. Announcing that this was his last time under the huppa, Barkan evoked memories of the late Richard Burton; who when be married Elizabeth Taylor the second time around declared that there will he no more marriages." The statement was of course premature.

DEPUTY FOREIGN Minister Eli Dayan may have fared badly in the Labor primaries, but he proved that he knows his Labor history better than most. When

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television madcap Meray Michaeli held an informal quiz session on Channel I's Popolitica Dayan, who was already aware of his poor placement at the polls, correctly answered more questions than anyone else.

AT LEAST two American stars of the big and small screen were in Israel this week. One was Oscar primaries, most of the big panes, winner. Holly Hunter (The in the entertainment industry were. Piano), who came for the local premiere of Copycat, and the other was Veronica Hamell, who is best known to local viewers for ber performance in Hill Street Blues. Both were guests at the Tel Aviv Hilton, and Hamell made a special trip to Hadassah-University Hospital Jerusalem to visit patients who survived the suicide bomb attacks.

> "YOU PRESENT me with moje than language, you present me with a philosophy of life. Zet gezunt," Israel Prize lauresie Father Marcel Dubois said to fellow laureate Prof. Chone Shmeruk at a reception hosted by Hebrew University's Faculty of Humanities. Eight of this year's winners are Hebrew University professors, either emeritus or currently on staff. Dubois, who is being honored for his contribution to state and society, spoke on behalf of all of this year's honorces and said "I feel like a Jewish boy on his har mitzva who has to thank his teachers and parents." Shmeruk is being honored for his contribution to the promotion and uoderstanding of Yiddish.

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BUSINESS & FINA

HNITED Mizrahi Bank's profits

scredit portfolio of the London

¹ branch, Victor Medina, general

manager of the bank, told a press

Le The bank reported a net profit

of NIS 86.6 million, compared

with a net profit of NIS 103.1m. m

1994. Net return on equity fell to

Mizrahi workers demonstrated

outside the press conference to ex-

press their objections to manage-

ment's plans to fire more than 200

The workers said their salaries

i are at the lower half of the banking

sector's wages," Medina said. "

Said: 'I don't know if this is true,

but I assume you're right,' and

rconference yesterday

≎6% from 7.7%.

Mizrahi profits drop on London-branch losses

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

-plunged 16 percent in 1995, mainly as a result of large provisions for asked how to push them to the top half? Isn't the solution to raise doubtful debts made in connection with irregularities uncovered in the

Key factors which hindered earnings included a 167.2% increase in provisions for doubtful debts to NIS 195.2m. from NIS 74.3m. The bank made special provisions of NIS 80m. in connection with irregularities uncovered in the third quarter in the credit portfolio of the London

We put in a lot of time and effort into solving the problem," Medina said. "As soon as deviations from the bank's credit procedures were uncovered in August, I immediately sent a team to check the branch. We discovered violations of management regulations, concealment of facts, and

incorrect registration.

"Consequently, we took a number of immediate measures, including dismissal of the branch manager, his deputy, and the number three person. A regional director of the bank in Israel was appointed as branch manager. The

sures to correct these irregularities."

Medina said it is impossible to determine whether the bank will have to make additional provisions for doubtful debts in future, since collection of money due is a

branch has adopted stringent mea-

lengthy procedure.

The high provisions were also a result of provisions of NIS 19m. for the moshay sector.

Other factors included a 13.9% decline in income, to NIS 456.1m.

from NIS 530 1m., deriving pri-marily from the continuing effect of the reduction in capital market

"It is true that the decrease in capital market activity has reduced Mizrahi's results," Medina said, "but we do not intend to reduce our share of the market. We plan to expand our income-yielding ac-

The decrease in earnings was partly offset by a 20.4% increase in profit from financing operations before provisioo for doubtful debts, to NIS 818.3m. from

There was also a 0.6% drop in operating and other expenses, to NIS 824.6m. from NIS 829.9m.

The contribution of held companies iocreased 111.5% to NIS 97.1m. from N1S 45.9m. Bank Tefahot contributed NIS 79.8m., up from NIS 67.4m. The growth was also attributed to foreign subsidiaries registering

losses in 1994, contrasted with the profits generated in 1995. United Mizrahi Bank & Trust Company (New York) reported a net profit of \$722,000, compared with a loss of \$4.72m. United Miz-

rahi Bank (Switzerland) earned a net profit of SF 75,000, compared with a net loss of SF 5.19m.

Koor profits NIS 490m., up 20% \$21m., equivalent to \$1.5 a share.

A FIVE percent devaluation is necessary to help exporters improve earnings, Binyamin Gaon, general manager of the conglomerate Koor Industries, said vesterday.

He emphasized the low foreign currency rate is causing significant damage to exporters profitability. According to Koor's calculations, a 1% devaluatioo will contribute \$10m. to Koor's annual

Koor reported a 20.5% rise in 1995 net profits, to NIS 490m. from NIS 407m. in 1994. Net return on equity was 24,5%. The company's board of directors decided to distribute annual divideoda of

Zim profits down 45%

ZIM Israel Navigation Company

1995 net profits plunged 45% to \$14.8m. from \$26.7m. in 1994.

cline on fierce competition, which has forced down freight prices, a

rise in fuel prices, a low foreign

cuttency exchange rate, and

strikes and other port disruptions.

Turnover increased more than

11% to \$1.44b. from \$1.29b. The

rise was mainly due to a rise in the

variety of lines which the company

operates. Operating expenses in-

Fourth quarter net profits were

up to \$6.1m. from \$3.8m., while

turnover increased to \$368.6m.

from \$325.9m. Galit Lipkis Beck

creased to \$1.22b. from \$1.07b.

Management blamed the de-

Net income for the fourth quarter increased to NIS 70m., from NIS 69m.

Commenting on the company's results Gaon said the company's core business performed extremely well. "The company's performance was outstanding, and the company's achievement of many milestones during the past year will help drive our growth and globalization plans in 1996 and in the years ahead," he said.

Koor's sales increased 15.3% to NIS 10.2 billion. Gaon emphasized exports increased to \$1.11 billion, up 19.5% m dollar terms.

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NEGLIGENT

tContinued from Page 1) "The lack of such an initiative was a substantial flaw in the division head's functioning." the report stated. But, as with Gillon, the commission found that Y.'s resignation after the assassination was enough punishment and no further action was recommended against him.

According to the commission, Dept. Cmdr. Ya'acov Shoval. the Yarkon District police chief, failed to react properly to the potential threat created by the build-up of a crowd at the northern City Hall parking lot, where Rabin was later shot.

The report noted the VIP Protection Unit failed to specifically instruct Shoval to clear the area, hut added he still should have Edone so at his own initiative. Sho-(val, the only police officer to be issued a warning letter, should pave a reprimand inserted in his personal file, the commission recommended.

L., head of the VIP Protection Unit. "did anempt to improve The service conditions and in-Crease manpower in the unit in peaction to the threat of attack on the prime minister and other gov-•arnment leaders.

However, L. lailed to make the operational improvements in the unit made necessary by this new Ahreat of attack and to convey to The bodyguards under his command the seriousness of this

On the night of Rabin's death. did not give specific instrucsions to police about keeping the Grea where the prime minister was shot clear of unauthorized persons and did not properly monitor events at the scene, the Sommission found.

The commission recommended that L., who was temporarily transferred from his post after the assassination, be permanently at least two years.

suspended from the position. It left open the possibility, however, that he be placed elsewhere in the GSS.

A., head of the VIP Protection Unit's Operations Branch, should have raised the coocern that the changed atmosphere [i.e. threat of attack by a Jewish assailant on the prime minister] necessituted a change in deployment.

"The commission accepts that the obligation to reevaluate the method [of VIP security] lay primarily with senior GSS officials. However, in the absence of such ao initiative, the issue should have at least arisen in the framework of the unit directly responsible for the matter."

"In light of these findings, the commission recommends that A. not serve to a command capacity in the GSS and that lifting this restriction not be considered for four years.'

The commission accepted the argument of S., the head of the VIP Protection Unit force at the rally, that GSS policy at the time did not require him to clear the patking lot where Rabin was

The report also described S. as young and inexperienced," noting that his superiors had put him in a position for which he was not ready. But it still held him responsible for some of the failures in protecting Rabin the night of tbe assassination.

Li particular, it said, S. did not adequately tour the area in advance of the event and did not give clear instructions to the police officers whose help he needed on how to ensure the safety of Rahin and the other VIPs in attendance.

The commission recommended that S. not be allowed to hold a command position in the GSS for

SHAMGAR

(Continued from Page 1) protection that the [VIP Protection] unit employed ... They were the most recent [fadures], those that occurred the night of the murder, that only added to the basic problems in the method of

protection. "The method that the unit employed ... did not provide adequate security for those being protected. It may oot have resulted in previous tragedies ... but that was only because an assailant had never tried to attack the prime minister before."

In bold type, the report then stated, "The first time an assailant tried to shoot the prime minister, the eotire system collapsed, and the assailant succeeded."

The commission took issue with Gillon, stating that his assertion that after the Rabin murder, "the method did not change, only the amount of protection increased" was unfounded. "The GSS head called this 'more of the same.' But this description is unacceptable: Closing roads and clearing away crowds is not 'more of the same."

SWEEP

(Continued from Page 1) The IDF coordinated the operation with the Palestinians, so that the Palestinian Police did not try to interfere. Miditary sources said the IDF waited until the last moment to notify the Palestinians, in Order to keep the raid a

At one point, a few hundred students and youths, angry over the arrests, started pelting the Israeli-PLO security liaison office near Ramallah with stones. There were no reports of injuries.

Hebron pullout date passes, Page 22

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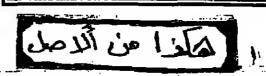
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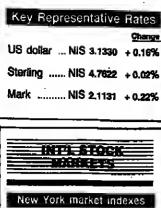
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TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



Two-Sided index

ISRAELI stocks closed almost unchanged for the day and week as Maof Index options expired and traders expressed concern vesterday about an inflation report due in two weeks.

The Maof Index fell 0.08 percent to 205.1, while the Two-Sided Index eased 0.18% to 195.26. The Two-Sided Index slipped 0.36% for the week while the Maof eased 0.21%.

"Enough investors had options on the Maof at 205 or 210," leaving them little incentive to push the iodex higher, said Mark Meiras, analyst at Pacific Mediterranean Securities in Herzliya.

"Maybe also some people are ehewing their nails over the next inflation report [for March]. I've heard 1.3% baodied about. I don't think it will be that high," he added.

Consumer price inflation for both January and February was

The stock exchange will trade for only three days in each of the next two weeks because of Pessah.

The three most heavily weighted stocks on the Maof - Bezeq, Koor Industries Ltd., and Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. fell, dragging down the index. Koor reported fourth-quarter earnings little changed from a year earlier.

Koor Industries was the most active share oo the exchange, down 1% as NIS 6.8 million of shares traded.

Bezeg fell 2%, while Teva eased 0.75%.

Across the Tel Aviv stock exchange, about NIS 79.2m. traded, about the average for the month. Three issues fell for every two that rose.

Maof Index

Inflation-adjusted interest rates are now 3-3.5%, with the rate the central bank charges banks for funds at 14%.

"The likelihood of the central bank lowering interest rates is nonexistent, particularly with the devaluation of the shekel, Meiras said.

The shekel weakeoed today to 3.133 to the US dollar from 3.128

yesterday.

Central banks such as the Bank: of Israel use higher rates as a tool in fighting inflation. Higher interest rates deter companies from borrowing for expansion. If companies do borrow, the interest cost eats into profits and poten- : tially stock prices as well.

Additionally . Meiras said. trading during Pessah teods to dry up as many Israelis, investors and non-investors alike, take vacations.

"Sixty million shekels would bea good day" during the holiday,

he said. Looking at Koor subsidiaries, Makhteshim fell 1.5%; Agan was: unehanged; and Tadiran Ltda cased 0.25%.

Among the banks, First International Bank of Israel was up 0.25% and Bank Hapoalim grew 0.5%. Discount Bank and Bank Lenmi were unchanged.

Africa-Israel Investments sav its Series 0.1 shares up 0.25%.

The Clal group of holding companies rose; parent Clal Israel and Clal Industries added 1% each and Clal Electronics rose 0.25%.

Blue Square Properties and Investments Ltd., operator of Co-Op Supermarkets, tacked on 0.25%, while rival Supersol was unchaged. Osem and Elite were

unchanged. Bloomberg

FTSE rises on late news

WORLD MARKET ROUNDUP

LONDON (Reuter) - Late buybid talk helped leading shares re- Virtually all blue chips traded verse earlier losses to finish the day marginally higher. Under pressure throughout the session, a flurry of activity in Cable & Wireless as bid talk bubbled to the surface, helped lift the market mood just ahead of the close. The FTSE 100 finished up 0.2 points at 3,672.6, the day's best, after rebounding from 3,650.0 in early afternooo.

Price cho

FRANKFURT - Germany's blue-ehip DAX index ended trade barely above the crucial 2,500-point level as lower German bonds and a touch of vertigo after Wednesday's record highs forced a correction on the market. The IBIS DAX index of electrooically traded shares closed the day at 2,502.94 points, down 20.87 points or 0.83 percent. The DAX had closed bourse trade at 2,508.44, down 16.98 points.

PARIS - Shares closed lower, in line with bonds and other European Bourses, on some disappointment the Buodesbank and Bank of France did oot cut their interest rates. The loss also ended a three-day winning streak for the Paris Bourse, which came close to its year-high level on Wednesday. The CAC-40 index closed down 10.54, or 0.52 percent, at 2019.97

ZURICH - Shares closed lower, led down by weak bonds and weak stock markets in Germany

and the Uoited States. The broad ing interest spurred by renewed SPI fell 17.09 points to 2,322.76. lower, and dealers said the de-. eline came as tovestors sought to consolidate receot gains.

TOKYO - Stocks ended easter on profit taking after recent surges, but shares registered on the over-the-counter (OTC) market surged in active business, attracting investors who expect? higher prices after the new fiscal year starts on April 1. The key in Nikkel average fell 34.16 points or 0.16 percent to 21,295.82.

HONG KONG - Stocks drifted to a modestly lower close, largely ignoring the results of various_ blue-chip property groups in the afternoon. The blue-chip Hang Seng Index slid 35.99 points to 4 11,030.58.

SYDNEY - The share market elosed lower, driven down by the Dow early but with the fall steepening later as sellers asserted control. The All Ordinaries index was 23.2 points lower at 2,236.5.

JOHANNESBURG - Shares dropped to fairly quiet trade. bushed by jitters over a Zulu march through Johannesburg which seemed to wind down peacefully and pressured by news that Financial Minister Chris Liebenberg would resign. The Overall index was off 49.1 points at 6.721.5, the Industrial index down 73.9 to 8,239.4 and the Gold index fell 35.7 points to 1,821.8.

Dow drops by over 20 points **WALL STREET REPORT**

NEW YORK (AP) - The Dow Jones average of industrial stocks was 5606.65, down 20.23 points at 2 p.m. EST yesterday.

Until the US switches its clocks to Daylight Saving Time, the Dow Jones results published in the paper will be from earlier in the day in New York. Trading on the NYSE closes at 4 p.m.

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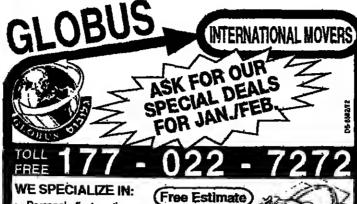
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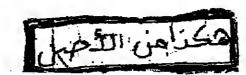
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WJC finds WWII Jewish assets in Swiss banks

Documents reveal unclaimed Jewish property

NEW YORK (Reuter) - The World Jewish Congress, which is involved in a dispute with Swiss banks over the unclaimed assets of Holocaust victims, said yesterday it had uncovered US intelligence files detailing millions of dollars held in Jewish accounts

in one Swiss bank alone. The WJC said it has turned over the previously classified documents from a US post-war probe of Nazi-confiscated funds called "Operation Safehaven'' to Senate Banking Committee chairman Alfonse D'Amato, who has said he would hold hearings on the unclaimed assets issue.

A WIC spokesman said a preliminary study of the first six of an estimated 100,000 documents showed that in 1945 one Swiss bank, Societe General de Surveillance S.A., had 182 mostly Jewish foreight accounts that would be worth \$29 million by today's

The Swiss Bankers Association said last month that it had uncovered only 775 unclaimed accounts in all the Swiss banks from 1933 to 1945 with a

present-day value of \$33 million. The WIC, which had been negotiating with the banks on returning the assets to heirs and survivors. has called on the Swiss to allow outside auditors to

verify the results of their investigation. The WIC spokesman said D'Amato had written to lawyers for the Swiss Bankers Association asking them to submit proof of what happened to the claims in the Societe General de Surveillance S.A.

New terminal opens at Ben-Gurion Tourism officials bemoan empty hotel rooms

AS officials at Ben-Gurion Airport prepare for record-breaking crowds by opening a new terminal, innkeepers are wringing their hands over the fact that they still have rooms available for Pessah, when they are usually all sold out.

According to the Airports Authority, about 140,000 passengers are due to pass through the Ben-

HAIM SHAPIRO

Gurion Airport today. The passengers include Israelis going abroad for Pessah and foreign visitors arriving for the holiday and for Easter, which also falls next week.

To cope with the continuously increasing numbers, the authority has opened a new terminal, at the

site of the former Arkia terminal The newly renovated terminal is to continue to serve domestic flights and will also serve as the outgoing terminal for a number of charter flights.

After checking in and receiving their boarding cards, the passengers are to go by shuttle bus to the outgoing passenger hall of the

Sarid: Radioactive waste is stored safely

ENVIRONMENT Minister Yossi Sarid has again rejected claims that radioactive waste stored at the Negev Nuclear Research Center (NRCN) is a danger to the population, the environment, or water reservoirs.

Sarid was responding to recent reports by Egypt and Saudi Arabia regarding a supposed leak from the reactor in Dimona. Sarid also received requests for

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Jerusalem Post Staff

clarification from ambassadors in Israel on behalf of their governments.

Sarid noted that the radioactive waste is handled as required, in accordance with strict safety regulations. Moreover, funding has been authorized to store radioactive waste by newer methods taking advantage of the best technology existing today, he

In a statement released yesterday, the Atomic Energy Commission backed up Sarid's claims.

"The waste matter of all types is securely stored in accordance with optimal international critety of contamination of the underground water in the area.

"The Ministry of Environment monitors the air, ground, and water of the region surrounding the NRCN. No radioactive contamination, which could potentially endanger the population, has been found." the statement read.

In addition, much of the material stored at the site floses its radioactivity in a relatively short time (from a few days to a few months), before any damage is caused to the barrel" in which it is stored, according to the statement.

The NRCN is also significantly smaller and better maintained than the nuclear power stations at na. A geological cross-section of ... Chemoby Lands Hankorth, the book strain prevents and prevent and prevents and preven

Baby born on Yavne highway

A man successfully delivered his fifth child via cellular phone while he, his wife, and other four children were in a car under a Yavne highway bridge on Wednesday night. Magen David Adom workers gave the steel-nerved father instructions over the phone and then arrived to cut the ambilical cord and wrap the healthy baby girl in a sterile sheet.

"What should I do, the baby's head is already visible," said the father over the car phone to Yossi Levy, who was on duty at MDA's Ayalon branch in Rishon Lezion.

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مكزامن الدميل

Magic puts on show for former coach

MIAMI (Reuter) - It must have seemed like old times for Pat Riley - that is, until be remembered he was coaching the other team. Magic Johnson put on a show for his former coach, scoring 27 points, pulling down nine rebounds and dishing out nine assists to lead the Los Angeles Lakers to a 106-95 victory over the Miami Heat on Wednesday. Johnson, who under Riley took the Lakers to four NBA championships over seven seasons in the 1980s, faced his former coach for

the first time as a player.

He was 15-of-15 from the free throw line and scored 14 points in the fourth quarter to stem a rally by the Heat. They brought me out of my retirement to do the things I'm doing in the fourth quarter when the game is on the line," Johnson said.

"He's just head and shoulders ahead of anybody else on the court when it comes to smarts," said Riley, who has not won a title since leaving the Lakers - and Johnson - in 1990. "Pat is like my father and a big

brother and you always want to impress your father and big brother," Johnson said.

Nick Van Exel scored 21 points and Vlade Divac added 16 and 12 rebounds for the Lakers. Alonzo Mourning had 19 points and 15 rebounds for Miami, hut made just 3-of-13 foul shots before fouling out. Tim Hardaway added 19 points and 13 assists for the Heat, who are tied with Charlotte for the eighth and final playoff spot in the Eastern Conference.

Spurs 90, Knicks 84

The red hot hosts ran their winning streak to a franchise record-tying 15 games with a 90-84 triumph over New York. David Robinson had 21 points and 13 rebounds, Sean Ellion added 18 points and Avery Johnson t7 as all five Spurs starters scored in double figures. Robinson's jumper with 5:55 to play snapped a 76-76 lie and the Spurs never again trailed. Patrick Ewing scored 20 points and

which was trying to complete a sweep of the "Texas Triangle" after winning at Dallas and Houston. Pacers 99, Bullets 93

Reggie Miller scored 11 of his 35 points in the final 3:34 to lead visiting Indiana. The win snapped a three-game road losing streak fur the Pacers, who increased their lead tn two games over New York for thirdplace in the Eastern Conference. Rik Smits had 27 points for Indiana on 12-of-18 shooting from the field. 76ers 103, Raptors 94

Clarence Weatherspoon scored 28 points and Jerry Stackhouse added 26 as hast Philadelphia snapped an eight-game losing streak. Zan Tabak recorded a career-high 26 points and tt rebounds for Toronio, which has

tt rebounds for Toronio, which has dropped 17 nf its last 21 contests. nf their starters, including Hakeem Olajuwon, Clyde Drexler and Robert Horry, sidelined by injury, Wednesday's games: Philadelphia 103, Torontn 94; Indiana 99, Washington 93; LA Lakers 106, Miami 95; San Antonio 90, New York 84; Boston 121, Minnesota 116; Dallas 117, Houston 114; Utah 98, Milwaukee 82; Seattle 132, Charlotte Milwaukee 82; Seattle 132, Charlotte

| EACT | EON | ~~~ | | _ | | | |
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| Minnesota | 23 | 46 | .333 | 28 | | | |

Maccabi Haifa tries to keep in title chase

THERE is no single major soccer clash in this weekend's National League fixtures list, with the two top sides taking on seemingly easy opposition as they strive to keep ahead of the rest of the field. With the battle for the title now effectively a two-horse race following Maccabi Haifa's 3-0 demolition of Betar Jerusalem in the capital last Saturday, all eyes and ears will concentrate on the matches at Herzliya where leaders Maccabi Tel Aviv play Maccabi Herzliya, and on Kiryat Eliezer, where second-place Maccabi Haifa bosts strugglers Hapoel Beit She'an. Maccahi has a five-point lead at the top and will not be expecting too much trouble from Herzliya. An upset, however, could change the situa-tion dramatically, and Maccabi Haifa, which begins its match against Hapoel Beit She'an

slightly later, will be keeping an

watchful eye out for the score at

ORI LEWIS

Herzliya. Both Beit She'an and Haifa will both be going all out for a win, a draw will not do either much good under the circum-

The visitors will be feeling confident for their own reasons: In the corresponding fixture last season, the Beit She'anis came to Haifa and won 3-2 on the last weekend of the season to keep their place in the top flight.

Haifa, for its part, will not want to allow the Tel Avivians to ease further ahead in the standings, as even a five-point gap at this stage of the season, with only six rounds of action remaining, is almost impossible to bridge, even for a club of Maccabi Haifa's stature. Elsewhere, many clubs will attempt to secure all three points as the drop to the Second Division comes ever closer. Hapoel Beersheba and Bnei

Yehuda will be an interesting, if uninspiring fixture in the Negev while Hapoel Tel Aviv will be looking to hammer out another win against easy opposition when they take on Betar Tel Aviv.

This weekend's National League fixtures (all matches begin tomorrow at 16:00 unless stated, 1st-round results in paren-

Ironi Rishon Lezion vs. Hapoel Petah Tikva, Rishnn (0-2); Zafririm Holon vs. Betar Jerusalem, Herzliya 18:00 (0-1); Maccabi Haifa vs. Hapoel Beit She'an, Kiryat Eliezer (6-0); Hapoel Tel Aviv vs. Betar Tel Aviv, Bloomfield (2-0); Maccabi Herzliya vs. Maccabi Tel Aviv, Herzliya 15:30 (0-1); Hapoel Beersheha vs. Bnei Yehuda, Beersheba (0-1); Maccabi Jaffa vs. Hapoel Haifa, Gaon Stadium, today 16:00 (0-4); Maccabi Petah Tikva vs. Hapoel Kfar Sava. Petah Tikva (3-0).

Marquis matchup highlights Final Four weekend

THIS year's Final Four is a game of twos. Two favorites, two underdogs; two No. 1 seeds, two lower seeds; two tradition-rich clubs, two teams often not identified with college hoops; two eastern squads, two SEC clubs, And the team that wins its next

n Inim

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Carlot Control

two games will be crowned 1996 NCAA basketball champ

The marquee matchup - the one that on paper should decide the champion - features No. 1 seeds Massachusetts against Kentucky, Both teams were rated · highly in pre-season, both were ranked No. 1 in the polls at vari-. ous times throughout the year, and both were expected to be playing this weekend at the Meadowlands.

Neither team had a difficult time in the regional finals - the Atlantic 10's UMass downed Georgetown in the East, while a. the SEC's Kentucky Acoutiniting its dominating play sincusthe tournament began - whipped Utah in the Midwest.

UMass, in the Final Four for the first time, is led by Marcus Camby, the top center in the country and possibly the No. 1 draft pick in the upcoming NBA draft. But the Minutemen's cast of stars does not end there, with forwards Dana Dingle and the team's unsung hero Donta Bright, and a pair of unspectacular, yet solid guards in Edgar Padilla and Carmelo Travieso. If Camby gets into foul trouble, Coach John Calipari can turn to Tyrone Weeks, who fills in admirably for the All-American. As for the rest of the bench we've seen better, namely that of the Wildcats.

Kentucky, which hasn't won an NCAA championship for 18 years, fields 10 top-notch players, hut unfortunately, Coach Rick Pitino can only put five on the court at a time.

His major challenge this year has been finding the right chemistry among some of the country's best athletes, all of whom want to play all of the time. I'm sure plenty of coaches would love to have such problems.

The team is led by long-dis-tance sharpshooter Tony Delk and forward Antoine Walker, who's one year away from real stardom. Center Mark Pope. guard Anthony Epps, and for-ward Walter McCarty round out

the starting five.
With the Wildcats' depth. Pitino's famous pressing defense and uptempo offense are a perfect match for the nearly perfect

But nearly perfect won't be good enough this weekend Can Dodgers take 5th straight rookie award?

NEW YORK (AP) - Never mind

the pressure of hoping to impress

Tem Lasorda or trying to fit into a lineup that won the NL West last

Mondest and Hideo Nomo, No

team has had more - in fact., it's

called the Jackie Robinson Award

in honor of the Dodgers player

who won the first award in 1947.

Bollandsworth, 23 in April,

made his major league debut last

on Sunday.

ELIOT ZIMELMAN

against the Minutemen, who George Washington) from a perwere one loss away (against fect season. UMass defeated



SHARPSHOOTER - Tony Delk brings Kentucky's chances unjustifiahly seeded a low No. 5

Final Four on TV

ARYEH DEAN COHEN

BASKETBALL fans are urged to make sure they get their Shahbat nap this week - coverage of the NCAA's Final Four tournament from the Meadowlands begins in the wee hours of Sunday morning, and they won't want to miss it.

Prime Sports is showing the two semifinal games live, with Syracuse facing Mississippi State in the opener, to be aired at about 1:30 am. our time. Following is the Kentucky-UMass game (and not at 11:30 pm., as listed in today's Time Out). Super Channel will be running the games live as well beginning at 2 am.

For those unable to keep their eyes open at that hour, Sports Channel is offering a replay on Sunday at 10 pm. and at 4 pm. and 11:30 pm. Monday, but nothing beats seeing it live.

The Big One, the NCAA Final, is on Prime Sport Tuesday at 5 am., or Super Channel at 4:30. Try telling your boss you couldn't come in Tuesday because you hurt your back cleaning for Pessah. If he's not huying it, you can always catch the repeat broadcast on Sports Channel at 11:30 pm. Tuesday, or at 9 am. Wednesday.

for Twins.

season and hit five home runs in

103 at-bats. He'll start in left

field, having beaten out once-

promising Billy Ashley, and will

try to extend the Dodgers' rookie

First Base: Tony Clark. The 6-

foot-7 former college baskethall

player is hoping Detroit will make

someday make a spot for him hy

moving Cecil Fielder to DH. A

power hitter who strikes out a lot.

Second Base: Felipe Crespo.

After losing Roberto Alomar to

free agency. Toronto gets another

switch-hitter from the minors.

Good hitter with power at Triple-

A, but needs defensive improve-

Kentucky earlier in the year by 10 points, and with both teams at the top of their game, there's no reason to think it won't happen

Big East rep Syracuse takes oo the second SEC member of the Final Four, Mississippi State. This is the second time in three years that the SEC has had two entries in college basketball's final weekend, and the league is only now being recognized as

The Orangemen, seeded fourth in the West, are led by power forward John Wallace, who almost went hardship last year. Instead, he chose to work on his perimeter game and nearly singlehandedly carried his teammates all year, including hitting a threepointer at the buzzer to defeat Georgia in the West's semis. Now that Wallace is a sure-fire lottery pick in the upcoming draft, the decision to return for his senior year appears very

Syracuse's problem, however, dominating duo with Wallace under the boards, but is often far due to a scrappy defense, and they'll need plenty more of that against the Bulldogs.

Mississippi State, which was in the Southeast, has been a team on a mission since defeating Kentucky in the SEC tournament

The team is led by center Erick Dampier and superb JUCO transfer, forward Dontae Jones. The squad also sports a solid backcourt in Marcus Bullard and Darryl Wilson, and the starting five is rounded out hy forward

Look for the Bulldogs to edge the Orangemen in a defensive And look for another predic-

Huskey, once out of favor with the

Mets because of weight problems,

hit a ton in spring training and

may have earned a job in right

field. Hosey has done most every-

thing right in the ntinors and is

In Saturday's opening game,

America's best.

s everything besides Wallace. Big man Otis Hill, who led the Orange against Kansas in the West finals, sometimes forms a plagued by foul trouble. The rest of the starting five, forward Todd Burgan and guards Jason Cipolla and Lazarus Sims, are turnover prone and highly inconsistent. Jim Bocheim's club, which often underachieves (remember the Orangemen's loss to Indiana in the 1987 finals) has gotten this

Russell Walters. The Jones-Wallace matchup should be the highlight of this game, but with each star canceling the other, the game will probably come down to the teams' supporting casts, where Mississippi State has the upper

tion early next week.

Israel cruises into Fed Cup playoff stage

ISRAEL'S women scored their third consecutive victory and secured a playoff berth in the Federatioo Cup Euro/African Zone Group II tennis event at Ramat Hasharon yesterday.

All four of Israel's women took part in the tie against Macedonia and they lost nine games between them in an easy victory over the former Yugoslav province. No. 1 Anna Smashnova, making her first appearance in the competition beat her opposite number Marina Lazarovska 6-1, 6-1, Hila Rosen defeated Irena Mihailova 6-2, 6-0 and Israel's doubles

pairing of Natalie Cahana and Tsipi Obziler easily disposed of 6-3, 6-2. The win assures the host nation, seeded fourth, of a place in the playoff stage of the competition tomorrow and a win there will see Israel advance to the Euro/African Zone Group I. Israel's opponents today are Luxembourg.

In other ties, top-seeded Poland repeated its demolition job of the lowly opposition again yesterday and for the second time on consecutive days, conceded only one game in its tie against Ethiopia. With scorelines of 6-1, 6-0; 6-0, 6-0 and 6-0, 6-0, the Poles must be starting to think they are superhuman. Today Poland has the day off and its players will have a chance to reflect on their achievement, which is remarkable regardless of the weakness of the opposition. Yesterday's other results: Group A: Lithuania beat Botswana 3-0. Group B: Turkey beat Cyprus 3-0. 3-Finland beat Liechtenstein 3-0. Group C: Estonia beat Zumbabwe 3-0. Group D: 2-Ukraine beat Iceland 3-0, Ireland beat Malta 3-0.

The opening ceremony, delayed by rain, is scheduled to take place today at 11 am. at the Israel Tennis Center at Ramat Hasharon.

Bruguera won't play against Israel **Davis Cuppers**

THE LOCAL SCENE

HEATHER CHAIT

SERGEI Bruguera has pulled out of next weekend's Davis Cup tie against Israel at Ramat Hasharon but the Spaniards are not holding their heads in despair.

Alberto and Carlos Costa, not related, 16 and 30 respectively in the world rankings, will be the key players with Alex Corretja (68) and Emilio Sanchez (101) lending a hand.

Bruguera asked to be released. pleading that mentally and physi-cally, he is not at his best right

Israel TV will broadcast the matches live, beginning at 2 pm.

Yael's silver warm-up Yael Arad is shaping up for Atlanta in a big way. Competing in the Italian Open in Rome, Arad (61kg) won the silver medal, tasing to the Netherlands' Jenny Gal in the final on a judge's decision. Arad has been plagued with injuries and defeats recently but this result, which included three ippons and wins over Swiss,

Hungarian, German and Polish

judokas, should lift her back on her feet again. Arik Ze'evi (86kg) and Amit Leng (60kg) each frught their way to fifth places in the same contest.

Four golds at disabled tourney Yugav Kenzi, from ILAN (Israel Sports Center for the Disabled in Ramat Gan), picked up frau gold medals at the South African Open Championships for the Disabled in Pretoria. Kenzi won the 100-, 200-and 400m races and also clinched the long jump event.

Shooting straight More gold as archer Yaron Kolesnik won the Students World Championship in Lyons, France, setting a new students world record of 117 points out of a possible 120. Kolesnik's participation in the

Olympics is not yet certain, but if twothirds of the archers from the Lyons event are going to Atlanta, his result will be accepted as the Olympic criterion. If not, he can still catch up at next month's pre-Olympic tournament in Atlanta.

A first for Yagur
Hapoel Yagur's men's table tennis
team won its first ever title this week, beating Happel Lod 3-0 in the State Cup final. Dima Avramanko and Yuri Yarmoliev were responsible for the success story.

Betar Micha Rishon Lezinn's

winnen took the hinors against Hapoel Nazareth Elite in the women's

Tony Tarasco as an extra outfield-

er this month, are looking for 8

hackup catcher. Toronto's Randy

Knort is a possibility. Gold

Glover Tom Pagnozzi of St. Louis

might also be available, at a high-

in double loss **NORMAN SPIRO ADELAIDE** ISRAEL'S chances of finishing

Bowls Fours

in the top eight of the quadrennial World Bowls championship, which would guarantee them a slot in the next tournament, looked dimmer when the Fours lost to the US 18-16 and to Wales 28-22 in Section D matches yesterday.

In the overall final standings of the Fours, Israel ranked ninth, three points above Hong Kong and five adrift of Canada.

In the medals playoff in the Fours, England takes on New Zealand and Australia faces

Today, Jeff Rahkin plays Canada and Hong Kong in the sin-

In other Fours action yesterday, (Section A) Ireland beat Australia 27-17 and Malawi 48-10; (Section B) Canada drew with Norfolk Island 19-19; (Section C) England beat South Africa 25-21 and Swaziland 42-6, Guernsey beat South Africa 18-17; (Section D) Wales heat Argentina 19-15. Western Samoa beat Fiji 20-19, US beat Israel 18-16, Fiji beat Zambia: 40-10. Wales beat Israel 28-22- US beat Argentina 24-16.

:0

Bronze for Israeli wrestler

ISRAELI Gucca Chichiashvili took the hronze medal in the European Greco-Roman wrestling championships in Budapest yesterday. Chichiashvili beat Tuomo Karila of Finland 2-0 in the 82 kg category.

Peter Farkas from Hungary won the gold defeating Turkey's Hanza Yerikaya. Post Sports Staff Yerlikaya.

Ferdinand wins for England

LONDON (Renter) - European championship hosts England dominated the first half and gave a gritty performance in the second to deservedly beat fellow finalists Bulgaria 1-0 in a friendly international at Wemhley oo Wednesday.

The only goal of an absorbing match watched by a disappointing crowd of 29,000 came after seven minutes when Les Ferdinand chested down a superh 30-meter pass from man-of-the match Teddy Sheringham to fire past Bulgarian captain and goalkeeper Borislav Mihailov, winning his 91st cap.

Bulgaria did have the hall in the net 20 seconds from time but the goal was disallowed after substitute Daniel Borimirov was adjudged to have handled before Emil Kostadinov scored. Bulgaria waswithout their star

layer Hristo Stoichkov who aggravated a back muscle in training on Tuesday.

SCOREBOARD

NHL - Wednesday's games: Boston 6, Hartfurd 5 (OT); Philadelphia 4, Ottawa 2; Washington 1, Montreal 0 (OT); NY Rangers 3, Florida 0; Detroit 4, Buffaln 2Winnipeg 3, Colorado 1; Calgary 1, Chicago 0; Los Angeles 3, Edmonton 3; Toronto 6, Vanconver 2

ON TUESDAY - SPORTS DAY IN THE JERUSALEM

POST

Full coverage of all the baseball teams and all the latest NBA, British soccer and college basketball news. in the 12-page supplement, The World of Sport. DON'T MISS IT!

streak to five in a row. finally getting a chance at 28 to Shortstop: Derek Jeter and Rey No, the real pressure on Todd A look at other top rookies on play center for Boston. Young is Ordonez. The best two shortstup Hollandsworth may come from ready at 26 after developing the rise as the season starts: ond base. The Yankees want prospects play in New York. Jeter, the past. After all, it'll probably be Catcher: Jason Kendall. The someone at second while power in Oakland system. at 21, hits line drives, shows a up to him to keep alive the Los Fernandez is sidelined and Pat son of former big league catcher strong arm and has strong All-Star potential for the Yankees. Ordonez, at 23, will be the Pitchers: Jason Schmidt, Paul Angeles Dodgers' streak of pro-Fred Kendall, this Pittshurgh Wilson, Alan Benes, Terry Kelly is recovering, and perhaps ducing the NL rookie of the year prospect is trying to make the jump from Double-A to the would want to send odd-man-out Adams. Schmidt is said to be set as the Major League season starts pitcher Scott Kamieniecki to at 23 to become Atlanta's No. 5 majors tanciest fielder if his hat majors at age 21. He was the starter. Wilson, a former No. 1 Seattle. But the Mariners may not The Dodgers have turned out the last four, those being Eric Karros, Mike Piazza, Raul keeps him with the Mets. Southern League MVP last seawant to take on his \$1 million-Mets' draft pick, led minor Third Base: Ron Coumer. plus salary. Another power product of the

Dodgers' system, was traded to Minnesota in a deal for Kevin groomed as Cuhs closer. Tapani. Could end up at first hase **Spring Shuffling** Outfield: Butch Huskey, Dwayne Hosey, Ernie Young,

leagues in strikeouts last season. Benes is one of three brothers in St. Louis system. Adams being

Injuries to Tony Fernandez and Benji Gil have the Yankees and

Texas Rangers doing some late shopping, and both teams have been looking toward Seattle where smooth Felix Fermin is available. Fermin, a one-time starter and

now a backup on the Mariners. can play either shortstop or sec-

The Rangers need a shortstop after losing Gil, although they signed infielders Jeff Frye and Spike Owen to minor league con-

tracts this week. The Orioles, after picking up

Peace Watch: Hebron pullout, covenant change not linked

THE Oslo 2 Accords do not link the IDF's pullout from Hebron, which had been scheduled for yesterday, with the amending of the Palestinian Covenant, Peace Watch, an independent monitor of the peace process, said yesterday in a legal opinion.

The pullout has heen postponed for an undefined period until the Palestinian Authority sufficiently tightens measures against terrorism. However, Peace Watch said Israel cannot justify delaying the pullout on grounds that the Palestine National Council has not amended the covenant, nor can the PLO justify delaying the amending of the covenant because the IDF did not pull out of Hebron yesterday as scheduled.

as scheduled.

According to Peace Watch, the accords do not link the ohligations, and the linkage is illogical chronologically since the PLO cannot be in violation of its obligation to change the covenant until May 7, two months after the inauguration of the elected Palestinian Council.

WATERMELON

LIAT COLLINS and Jerusalem Post Staff

added that the PLO cannot use the IDF's failure to withdraw as a legal basis for delaying the amending of the covenant, since the obligation to do so was set for two months after the convening of the council, whose date was not even set in the accords, while the pullout was to be six months after the signing of Oslo 2.

Peace Watch noted that had PA President Yasser Arafat called for the elections to be held in mid-January and inaugurated the council immediately thereafter, the deadline for amending the covenant would have been mid-March, before the scheduled withdrawal.

Meanwhile, the 1DF stepped up its military presence in the town yesterday, residents said.

"We in Hehron feel sad because we were expecting the departure of Israeli occupation forces today and we see it is not happening," said Mayor Mustafa Natshe.

clare March 28 a day of Palestinian identification with Hebron. After a meeting with Hebron notables, the council members issued a handbill attacking Israeli policy and stating that delaying the IDF withdrawal from the city was a dangerous step that exposed Israel's plot to go back on the Oslo accords and continue its settlement policy and land expropriation in the city.

National Religions Party leader Zevulun Hammer said yesterday an IDF withdrawal from Hebron would create a serious security threat. "The government is apparently relying on a short collective memory and underestimates the level of intelligence and comprehension of the Israeli public as [government] emissaries are racing to reopen the campaign preparing the ground and public opinion for a hasty IDF withdrawal from Hebron," Hammer said.

Hammer accused the government of not sticking to even the basic positions which it had itself determined as critical to the security of the State. A set and during a har mitzya ceremony yesterda

Five hundred Russian immigrant boys recite the 'Shema' during a bar mitzva ceremony yesterday.

For them and 500 girls celebrating their bat mitzva at the Western Wall. (Brian Hendler)

Ginsburgh's detention overturned

SUPREME Court Justice Dalia Domer yesterday overturned the administrative detention of Rabbi Yitzhak Ginsburgh, head of the Od Yosef Hai yeshiva in Nablus, saying he does not constitute a threat to the public.

Dorner said that nothing in the information presented to her could serve as a basis for holding Ginsburgh. Calling administrative detention a very serious step. Dorner said the government

HERB KEINON

should have used other legal remedies if it thought Ginsburgh posed a threat.

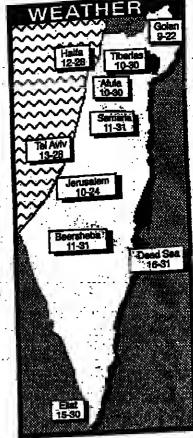
This was the first time that the court has overruled an administrative detention order hecause of insufficient grounds. In 1988, the court overturned an order on a technicality, saying that the term of the particular order—

against a Palestinian - went be

"I imagine that those in charge thought it over a number of times before detaining Ginsburgh, a known public figure," said Ginsburgh's lawyer, Naftali Wertzherger. "And if they still detained him, and the court ruled there was insufficient reason to do this, then it has to call into question the detention orders against those who the officials probably don't give as much thought to before locking up."

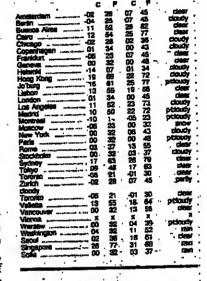
Ginsburgh was detained on March 7 for two months because he allegedly made extreme statements against Arabs after the recent suicide attacks in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Ashkelon.

A Foreign Ministry statement circulated to Israeli consulates abroad explained the detention on March 12 by saying that Ginsburgh is a rabbinic authority with "a long record of incitement to violence, inflammatory rhetoric, and has developed a theology of revenge whose tenets he spreads wherever he can."



Forecast: Hot and dry. Shabbat: Parily cloudy, decline in

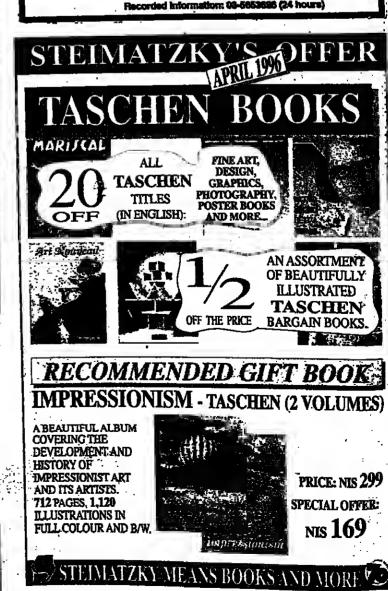
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